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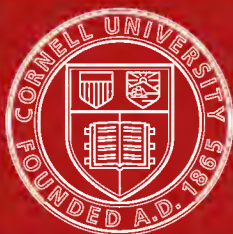
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The Frontier Policy of Pennsylvania

BY

GEORGE ARTHUR CRIBBS



PITTSBURGH, PA.

1919

THE FRONTIER POLICY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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CHAPTER I.

INDIAN POLICY.

1682-1800.

William Penn's ideas of justice and humanity permitted but one Indian policy. His natural benevolence and the principles of his sect demanded a just and friendly treatment. Before leaving England he forwarded to those Indians dwelling in his province a letter expressing his friendly attitude toward them and his hope that he and they would always live together as neighbors and friends. He instructed his commissioners to be careful not to offend them, to court their good will, and let them know that the Christians had come to settle among them on terms of friendship. (1)

The Quaker's treatment of the Indians was always characterized by fairness and honor. In Pennsylvania alone could an Indian get satisfaction from a white man, for here only was the testimony of an Indian accepted against a white. In matters of trade the provincial government tried faithfully to guard the Indian against exploitation by the white man. In treaties, for the first fifty years at least, only open and honorable means were used to gain a point. And not only abstract justice, but friendly and kindly intercourse were encouraged. Penn learned their language in order that he might be able to converse with them more freely, and later sent his son to dwell among them that he might understand their language and customs. (2) The relationship between the Indians and the Quakers was, therefore, most cordial and friendly. Penn himself was a frequent visitor among them, partaking of their venison, hominy, and roasted acorns; and to their great delight, participating in their athletic exercises. The Indians responded at once to this treatment; and the early settlers found them

- (1) *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, II, Part I, 218, Penn's Instructions to his Commissioners to settle the Province: "Be tender of offending the Indians, and hearken by honest Spyes, if you can hear yt any body inveigles ye Indians not to sell, or to stand off, and raise the value upon you. You cannot want those yt will inform you, but to soften them to mee and the people, lett them know yt you are come to sit down Lovingly among them."
- (2) FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN, *Historical Review of Pennsylvania*, 97.

ever ready to provide food, assistance, or protection if it lay within their power. Former intercourse had taught them somewhat of the white man's injustice and insatiable desire for land, but they were still in a frame of mind to appreciate fair treatment and to return it in kind.

Penn attempted to carry his ideas of equality into the court room. The white man and the Indian were given the same legal standing and by written agreement between them were to be punished by the same laws. (1) If an Indian wronged a white man, the plaintiff was not allowed to take the law into his own hands. He must appeal to the nearest magistrate, who would then take up the affair with the chief of the Indian who had committed the wrong. If satisfaction was not obtained, proceedings were instituted against the Indian in the same manner as in the case of a white offender. If a white man wronged an Indian, he incurred the same penalty that was inflicted upon those who wronged a Christian. In such cases the Indian chief would complain to the governor. If investigation seemed to warrant it, the culprit was tried; and if found guilty, punished.

An attempt was made to have cases which involved both races tried by juries of six whites and six Indians, (2) but this was found impracticable and soon abandoned. A case was tried in the county in which the crime was committed, but in 1744 it was provided that all Indians accused of capital crimes committed within the province in places distant from the inhabitants should thereafter be tried in the County of Philadelphia before the justices of the supreme court or of the courts of Oyer and Terminer, and the expenses to be paid by the province as a whole and not by any particular county. These plans on the whole worked very satisfactorily, but neither whites nor Indians were always scrupulous about observing them. They were often inclined to take the law into their own hands, thus causing complications during which border warfare sometimes seemed certain.

The Quakers also aimed, as far as possible, to preserve peace between the various tribes. About 1719 a disagreement occurred between the northern and southern Indians.

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- (1) MYERS, A. C., *Narratives of early Pennsylvania*, 276, reprinting Penn's *Further Account*: "If any of them break our laws they submit to be punished by them, and to this they have tyed themselves by an obligation under their hands."
 - (2) *Ibid*, 236, reprinting Penn's Letter to the Free Society of Traders "We have agreed in all differences between us six of each side shall end the matter: Don't abuse them but let them have justice and you win them."

The governor, in order to prevent evil consequences, went to Virginia where he arranged terms of settlement with the governor of that colony. After he returned, he held a treaty with several Indian tribes and prevailed upon them to accept the compromise. The Pennsylvania Indians were not to hunt in the mountains south of the Potomac and the southern Indians were not to come north of that river. (1)

Many treaties were made with the Indians during the early period of Pennsylvania's history. Any one who glances through the Colonial Records will see what a great percentage of time must have been given up to Indian affairs. Penn himself is said to have made treaties personally with nineteen different tribes. The most of these were confirmations of friendship or treaties for the purchase of land. At times, however, they involved the regulation of trade and intercourse or even the question of frontier defense.

A treaty of this latter type was that made with the Susquehanna Indians in 1701. (2) According to its terms neither side was to do the other any wrong or injury. Indians who came into the neighborhood of the white settlements were to behave themselves regularly according to the laws of the Christians. The Indians were not to aid or abet the enemies of the whites or believe any evil rumors concerning them, but report the same to the governor. They were not to allow any strange Indians to settle on the west side of the Susquehanna or about the Potomac without the governor's permission. All traders were to be approved and licensed by the government. The Indians were to deal with Pennsylvania traders only.

Until 1722 Indian expenses were inconsiderable, being limited to fifty pounds a year. (3) Great caution was always exercised in allowing more. In this year, however, a bill for 230 pounds was allowed to defray the expenses of Governor Keith's journey to Albany and the cost of the presents made to the Indians at that time. (4) From 1722 to 1727 no Indian expenses were paid from the provincial treasury. But in this latter year the assembly contested a bill for seventy pounds, one half of which was finally paid by the public and the remainder by the proprietors. (5) In 1728 the assembly requested Governor Gordon to hold a treaty with the Indians, the costs of which they promised

(1) PROUD, ROBERT, *History of Pennsylvania*, II, 198, 131.

(2) *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st series, I, 144.

(3) *Pennsylvania Statutes at Large*, II, 230.

(4) *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania*, IV, 194.

(5) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., I, 198.

to pay. After this, expenses mounted rapidly higher and higher until in 1750 over one thousand pounds per year were being expended in this manner. (1)

As soon as Indian expenses became appreciable, a quarrel began between the assembly and the proprietors concerning their payment. The assembly argued that all former grants for this purpose had been considered as free gifts of the people and that they did not commit the government to a continuation of the policy. As long as treaties had been made primarily for the maintenance of friendly intercourse, no objections had been raised; but now it was becoming apparent that they were only the forerunners of land purchases, and for this reason the assembly maintained that the proprietors should bear a share of the expense. (2) The Penns objected on the grounds that they were already bearing their fair share of Indian expenses in other ways, such as paying interpreters and making purchases of land from which the inhabitants derived great benefit. They considered that they were no more obliged to contribute to the public treasury than the governors of other colonies. (3) The assembly, however, still argued that as the Penns were absolute proprietors of the soil, they should at least bear the expenses of treaties for the purchase of lands. Those for the maintenance of friendship might still be held at the expense of the public. But treaties of friendship and those of purchase were so inextricably bound together that it was found impossible to draw a dividing line between them. The assembly then resolved that the surest way out of the difficulty would be to request the proprietors to agree upon a certain proportion of all treaty expenses which would be assumed by them. (4) The contest had not yet been decided

(1) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 195.

(2) FRANKLIN, *Review*, 82. "But when it appeared, as in Course of Time was unavoidable, that a Treaty and a Purchase went on together; that the former was a Shoeing Horn for the latter, that the Governor only made the compliments, and the Assembly the Presents, & it could not but appear also, that there must be somewhat unfair in a Procedure where one paid all the cost, and the other engrossed all the Profit: and that it was high Time to put some Stop to a Practice so injurious to their Understandings."

(3) *Ibid*, 97.

(4) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 104. Resolve of Assembly: "That the Proprietaries Interests are so constantly intermixt with those of the Province in all Treaties with our Indian Allies, that we apprehend the surest Way to prevent Dissatisfactions on all Sides, will be to request the Proprietaries—(to agree upon a proportionate part to be paid by them)—as in justice they ought to do."

when the outbreak of the French and Indian War brought it to a close.

The chief objective of the Quaker's Indian policy was the maintenance of friendship. To this end his energy and his money were freely expended; for as long as the good will of the Indians could be retained, the frontier difficulties which vexed the other colonies would be greatly lessened, if not entirely avoided. It was, in his estimation, much better to prevent than to cure. The attitude of the assembly is briefly stated in one of their arguments against the acceptance of the proprietary proposal to build a fort at the forks of the Ohio River. "We have," they say, "seriously considered the offer made by our proprietaries toward building such a House; but as we have always found that sincere, upright Dealing with the Indians, a friendly Treatment of them on all occasions and particularly in relieving their necessities at proper Times by suitable Presents, have been the best means of securing their Friendship, we could wish our Proprietaries had rather though fit to join with us in the Expense of those presents, the Effects of which have at all Times so manifestly advanced their Interest with the security of our frontier Settlements." (1)

As is shown by this extract, the making of presents was the method in which the greatest faith was placed. It was this that caused the great increase in Indian expenses during the restless years from 1730 to 1750. As the Indians were found to be slipping away from the English interest, the number and value of the presents were gradually increased in a vain attempt to hold them true. It was for the purpose of carrying such a present that Conrad Weiser made his journey to the Ohio in 1748. In the following year George Croghan was sent with a small gift to the Twightwees, in company with Alexander Montour, the interpreter. On their way they met Christopher Gist who had been sent by the governor of Virginia to summon the Indians to meet at Logstown the next spring, to receive a present from the king. (2) This, then, was the customary method of bidding for the Indian's favor.

While Croghan was at the Twightwee town delivering the present and the governor's message, several chiefs of the tribes living on the Wabash River appeared and asked to be admitted into the chain of friendship with the English and the Iroquois. Croghan, considering that such an alliance would be of great advantage to the colony and extend

(1) *Colonial Records*, V, 547.

(2) O'CALLAGHAN, E. B., *New York Colonial Documents*, VII, 628.

the English interest among the Indians, granted the request; concluded treaties of friendship with them; and made each a small present. But on his return the assembly, with their usual jealousy of any attempt to anticipate in any way their action in money matters, repudiated his action and condemned him for bringing an additional expense upon the government. They seemed to lack entirely any appreciation of the situation into which the province was rapidly plunging, for at this most critical point they refused to extend their interest by the very policy which they considered most effective in gaining and holding the Indian's friendship.

Presents were also made at times to console them for losses which they had suffered in the English interest, such as the death of several Twightwee warriors in defending some English traders against the French. Money was also raised sometimes to placate them when they had become incensed on account of injuries. This was done in 1768 after the murder of ten Indians by a frontier settler named Frederick Stump. (1)

Private satisfaction was made to them in the same way. In 1794 a young man named Robertson killed an Indian in Western Pennsylvania by striking him with a club. The father of the murderer sent an agent to deal with the Indians. When the latter appeared, all the Indians of the neighborhood collected about him. His offer of about one hundred dollars to pay for the man who had been killed was considered highly satisfactory, and some of the Indians even seemed disappointed that it was not their relative who had been killed, as they were missing a share of so large an indemnity. (2)

Considerable sums, too, were paid at various times to provide for the wants of friendly Indians, particularly when these wants had arisen on account of their attitude toward the English. In 1755, for example, five thousand pounds were voted by the assembly to be expended by seven commissioners for the relief and supplying of settlers and friendly Indians who had been driven from their homes by attacks upon the frontier. (3)

Assistance against their enemies was never held out as an enticement for the Indians to ally themselves with the provincial government. Such would have been inconsistent with the Quaker's principles. But during the French and Indian War it was found necessary to erect houses at Wy-

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., III, 380.

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., VI, 738.

(3) *Statutes at Large*, V, 211.

oming for the reception and protection of the Indian allies of the province. (1)

Fair, open, and honest dealing was also considered an excellent means of holding the affection and adherence of the Indians; but the working of this policy was greatly hindered, or we may say almost entirely prevented, by the action of the white traders who refused to be bound by governmental regulations. (2) When once they had gone into the woods where supervision was practicably impossible, their dealing with the Indians was often far from fair and honest.

Agents who understood the Indians' character and whose personal influence was strong were sent to deal with them. The most prominent among these was Conrad Weiser, a German, who had migrated with his father to New York when he was fourteen years of age. Here they lived for four years on the Livingston Manor, then removed to Scholarie where Conrad became acquainted with the Mohawks, was adopted into their tribe, and lived among them for a number of years. In 1729 he joined a group of Germans who were migrating from New York to Pennsylvania by way of the Susquehanna River. (3) With his wife and five children he settled in what was then Lancaster County about a mile east of the present site of Womelsdorf, and soon became an important personage among his countrymen who had settled in this vicinity. He was first employed as an interpreter about two years after his arrival and allotted forty shillings for his services. He acted thereafter as official interpreter and the government's most trusted agent in Indian affairs.

Second to Weiser only, and not second even to him among the western Indians, was George Croghan. He was born in Ireland and educated at Dublin, but at an early age migrated to Pennsylvania and settled on the west bank of the Susquehanna, (4) nearly opposite Harris's Ferry, in the township of Pennsboro which was at that time upon the frontier of the province. His love of travel and adventure soon attracted him to the Indian trade in which he appeared as far west as Sandusky, Ohio, in 1746. (5) He gained great influence

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., II, 929. Governor Denny to Assembly: "Teedyuscung has renewed his Request to have the Houses finished at Wyoming, for which this Government stands engaged."

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., I, 748.

(3) THWAITES, RUBEN GOLD, *Early Western Travels*, I, 17.

(4) *Col. Rec.*, II, 34.

(5) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., I, 742; *Col. Rec.*, V, 72, 139.

with the western Indians and won to an English alliance many of the wavering French adherents. He soon attracted the attention of Conrad Weiser by whom he was recommended to the government. Thus he was introduced into the public service in which he continued for the remaining active years of his life.

Such was the Quaker plan for securing peace upon the frontier. For fifty years it was successful but not much longer. The question now arises as to why it failed. The various answers which have been given will be discussed later. But it may be well to observe at this point that had all these plans been followed ever so closely, the general policy was still doomed to ultimate failure. It was only while whites were few and land was plenty that it could succeed. When the Indian once saw that he was being gradually driven out of the province, no presents however extensive, no treatment however kind, no agent however adept could make him content. When once he saw how affairs were tending, he was bound to resist.

About 1735 a definite change took place in the Indian policy of the provincial government. More and more attention was thereafter given to the Six Nations because they were becoming a very important ally against the growing power of the French. The Delawares and Shawanese, who were now living upon the Ohio, were ignored. They were no longer welcome at Philadelphia and attempts were even made to stop their coming. (1) Their masters, the Six Nations, were called in to drive them from the lands claimed by virtue of the notorious Walking Purchase. Such treatment, so very different from that which they had formerly received, was a great blow to their pride, and they treasured it up in their memories as one more score to be avenged. The English and the Indians were thus drifting rapidly apart; friendship was being superceded by hatred.

The English were unlucky in the fact that at the point where contact was most frequent the worst characters among them appeared. (2) The trader who went among the Indians was not a fair representative of the white settlers.

(1) HAZARD, SAMUEL, *Register of Pennsylvania*, IV, 205.

(2) THOMPSON, CHARLES, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest*, 56. "It would be too shocking to describe the Conduct and Behavior of the Traders, when among the Indians, and endless to enumerate the Abuses the Indians had received and born from them for a Series of Years. Suffice it to say, that several of the Tribes were at last weary of bearing."

He was inclined to be restless, shiftless, and dissolute. He cheated consistently, he sometimes murdered the warriors and often debauched their wives. Yet it was from him that the Indian formed his estimate of the white man's character.

The conduct of the frontiersman, too, was often not above reproach. He was inclined to look upon the Indian as little more than an animal to be shot down with as little impunity as any other denizen of the forest. Many an innocent red man fell a victim of these white savages. One of the most notorious cases was the murder by Frederick Stump of ten Indians in January, 1768. Six of these, four men and two women, came to his house drunk and disorderly on the tenth of the month. Fearing that they would do him some harm he killed them all and concealed their bodies beneath the ice of the creek near the house. Then afraid that news might be carried to the other Indians, he went the next day to some cabins about fourteen miles from his home; killed the woman, two girls, and a child whom he found there; put their bodies into the cabins; and set them afire. (1) The murderer with his servant, John Ironcutter, was detected, arrested, and confined in the jail at Carlisle. But on January 29, about two o'clock in the morning, a mob of seventy or eighty armed men broke into the jail and carried them away in triumph. (2)

Such was the frontiersman's viewpoint. (3) He painted Indian character in the blackest and most baleful shades in order the more easily to justify the wrongs that were commonly done them. It was always difficult to bring a defendant to justice on account of the difficulty of proving the crime as well as on account of the assistance that was invariably given him, whenever it was possible, by his friends and neighbors.

But while there was this negative power repelling the Indians from the English, there was also a positive power drawing them to the French. When the latter first appeared upon the American continent, they had gained the enmity of the Iroquois by espousing the cause of their enemies. The French tried in vain to subdue them. When the English appeared, the Five Nations were, therefore, their natural allies. The Indians invited them to aid in destroying the infant colony of Canada while it was a comparatively easy task, but the English turned to them a deaf ear. The French, finding at last that the Iroquois could not be subdued, chang-

(1) *Col. Rec.*, IX, 414.

(2) *Ibid.*, 448.

(3) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., IV, 770, 773; VI, 822.

ed their tactics and attempted to gain by kindness and favors what they had failed to win by force. In this they were more successful. (1) Able agents were employed whose zeal was so much superior to that of the English agents and commissioners that the latter were held in almost universal contempt. The Indians gradually withdrew from the English interest on account of the unfavorable view which they The French, too, seemed to be more able to attract and hold were beginning to form of English integrity and ability. their good will. They entered more easily into their manner of living, married squaws, and became veritable savages. The Indians looked upon them as more nearly akin to themselves, and put more trust in them than in any other Europeans. (2)

"The English," says a contemporary pamphleteer, "in order to get their lands, drive them as far from them as possible, nor seem to care what becomes of them, provided they can get them removed out of the way of their permanent Settlements; whereas the French, considering that they can never want land in America, who enjoy the Friendship of the Indians, use all the Means in their Power to draw as many into their alliance as possible; and, to secure their affection, invite as many as can to come and live near them, and to make their Towns as near the French settlements as they can." (3)

About 1728, or possibly earlier, they began their attempts to dissuade the Delawares and Shawanese from their friendship for the English. The latter tried to frustrate the tempters by persuading the Shawanese to move eastward from the Ohio and by excluding French agents from western Pennsylvania. But all efforts were fruitless. A Frenchman came every spring to trade with the Allegheny Indians, and particularly with the Shawanese. The Governor of Canada sent a blacksmith to work for them free of charge, (4) which pleased them so highly that on his de-

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- (1) PARKMAN, FRANCIS, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, III, Appendix A2, Cadwallader Colden to the Earl of Halifax: "After the peace of Utrecht, the French changed their measures. They took every method in their power to gain the Friendship of the Five Nations, and succeeded so well with the Senecas, who are by far the most numerous, and at the greatest distance from us, that they were entirely brought over to the French interest. The French obtained the consent of the Senecas to the building of the Fort at Niagara, situated in their country."
 - (2) ZEISBERGER, DAVID, *History of the North American Indians*, 122.
 - (3) THOMPSON, *Causes of Alienation*, 48.
 - (4) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., I, 301.

parture they made him a present of skins to the value of ten pounds.

Before the French and Indian War many Indians were inclined to look upon the English as a counterpoise to the power of the French and therefore remained their steady friends. But after the reduction of Canada they began to look upon them in an entirely different light. (1) The English now held the forts which controlled the Great Lakes and the rivers communicating with them. The Indians looked with jealousy upon these for they imagined that they could see in every little garrison the germ of a future colony which foretold only too clearly the day of their own expulsion.

The most fundamental cause—the cause that would inevitably have brought on a struggle had all others been absent—was, therefore, the usurpation by the whites of the Indians' land. The assembly laid the whole blame at the door of the proprietors. "The Causes of the Present Indian Incursions on the Province," they say in 1757, "have arisen, in a great Measure, from the exorbitant purchases made, or supposed to be made, of the Indians." (2) They were especially dissatisfied with the Albany Purchase of 1754. In fact it was considered fraudulent throughout, and was practically recognized as such by the proprietors in redeeding the tract to the Indians. The Walking Purchase, although of a date somewhat remote, doubtless still lingered in the Indian's mind and helped to swell the general impression of English rapacity. The vast grant of land by the king to the Ohio Company also fostered discontent as did the frequent settlement of squatters upon lands which had not yet been released. The real cause, however, cannot be found in any individual purchase or specific event, but only in the steady, irresistible progress of the whites. After all the lesser causes of irritation have been brushed aside, we must look upon the Indian wars as an inevitable struggle between an inferior race in possession of the soil and a superior race which was gradually usurping it.

Turning from the political and military aspects of the Indian policy, I shall now review the various attempts to

- (1) *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII, 603. George Croghan to the Board of Trade: "The Indians before the late war, or the conquest of Quebec considered us in the light of a Counterpoise to the power of the French, their ancient Enemies, and were steady Friends to the English on that account; but since the reduction of Canada, they consider us in a very different and less favorable light—."
- (2) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 728.

convert them to the principles of civilization and Christianity. To do this was usually set forth as one of the chief objects of colonization; but in most cases it was acted upon, if at all, in a very dilatory manner. In Pennsylvania, however, considerable effort was made, particularly by the Quakers and Moravians, to convert and civilize them.

The missionary was compelled to work under great difficulties. The Indians, as any other race, were closely attached to their own traditions and not inclined to embrace a new belief which they were unable to comprehend. (1) The white man, too, it was observed, did not live according to the teachings of his own doctrine. He was very willing to take advantage of the Indian in trade, and sometimes committed crimes of a more heinous nature. The missionary was also at times obliged to work through the unsatisfactory means of an interpreter. It was only he who spent a considerable time with the Indians who was able to gain a working knowledge of their language.

The Indian believed in a Supreme Being or Great Spirit who had created Earth, man, and all things about him. This belief had been handed down from generation to generation. Penn liked to assume that it could be traced back to the Lost Tribes of Israel from whom he conceived that they had descended. They did not presume to know the dwelling place of their god or attempt to solve his mysteries. But somewhere in the indefinite future, they held, lay the happy hunting ground where the warrior who had lived a virtuous life and refrained from theft, murder, and immorality would ultimately take up his abode; where game was plenty and the hunter never knew fatigue; where he would live a life of superfluity, joy, and dancing.

They had no conception of a hell. It was punishment enough for him who had lived an evil life to be denied an entrance into the abode of happiness. Throughout eternity he was obliged to wander about, sad, discontented. (2) The Indians, they said, within whose hearts was written the word of God had no necessity for a bible, but one had been given to the whites on account of their wickedness.

They had their own traditional manners and customs, which they were by no means inclined to change. They believed that the white and the red man had been created by the same Great Spirit but that each had been given a different employment. The whites were charged with the cultivation of the soil while the Indians were given the more

(1) HOLM, T. C., *Description of the Province of New Sweden*, 140.

(2) ZEISBERGER, *Indians*, 128.

noble employment of hunting the wild beasts of the forest. They considered it contrary to the will of the deity that they should adopt the white man's manner of life and pointed to nature for their proof. (1) Each animal, they said, deer, bear, or rabbit, had its own characteristic habits; and no one ever observed one of them giving up its own habits to adopt those of another. They held that the same principle applied to whites and Indians.

Falckner, who visited Pennsylvania about the close of the seventeenth century, recognized the difficulty of coming into influential relationship with them on account of the differences of race, custom, and language. He believed that, in order to obtain any important results, it would be necessary to plant colonies of whites near their centers of population. (2) Strange to say, he suggests bringing up some of their children in the knowledge of the German or English tongue rather than that the missionary should acquaint himself with theirs. (3)

But the greatest obstruction to Christianization, excepting possibly the religious inertia which is inherent in any people, was the bad example set by the English. While the missionary was teaching the doctrines of Christ, the traders and other frontier inhabitants were absolutely controverting them; and it was from these, as has been pointed out in dealing with the causes of alienation, that the Indian formed his opinion of the white man's character. They soon became so convinced that most white men were evil at heart that they were inclined to turn their backs in disdain upon the missionary. (4)

- (1) HECKEWELDER, JOHN, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States*, 121.
- (2) FALCKNER, DANIEL, *Curieuse Nachricht von Pennsylvania*, 127.
- (3) *Ibid*, 123. "If some of them could only have been brought up on the already mentioned lines, so that they understood the English or German tongue, then we could lead them to a knowledge of God through the story of the first creation, and then by daily intercourse with them strengthen them, until God grants us further opportunity to show them greater confidence."
- (4) THOMPSON, *Causes of Alienation*, 56. "And as these Traders were the persons who were in some Sort the Representatives of the English among the Indians, and by whom they were to judge of our Manners and Religion, they conceived such invincible Prejudices against both, particularly against our holy Religion that when Mr. Sergeant, a Gentlemen in New England, took a journey in 1741 to the Shawanese, and some other Tribes living on Susquehannah, and offered to instruct them in the Christian Religion, they rejected his offer in Disdain. They reproached Christianity. They told him the Traders would lie, cheat, and debauch their Women, and even their Wives, if their Husbands were not at home."

"And yet," Heckewelder reports them as saying, "these white men would always be telling us of their great Book which God had given to them, they would persuade us that every man was good who believed in what the Book said, and every man was bad who did not believe in it. They told us a great many things, which they said were written in the Book and wanted us to believe it all. We would probably have done so, if we had seen them practice what they pretended to believe, and act according to the good words which they told us. But no! while they held their big Book in one hand, in the other they had murderous weapons, guns and swords, wherewith to kill us, poor Indians! Ah! and they did so too, they killed those who believed in their Book, as well as those who did not. They made no distinction." (1)

This criticism naturally does not apply to the Quakers. They labored faithfully to promote justice as well as to improve the Indian's physical, intellectual, and religious condition. Penn himself was much concerned in their spiritual welfare and while he was in the province labored zealously to improve it. Before the founding of the colony George Fox and other Quaker missionaries had preached to them, and very soon after that event joint religious meetings of Quakers and Indians were held. Attempts were also made to teach them some of the principles of civilized life. They were instructed in the barbarity of torture and in the evil effects of war. (2) They were furnished with agricultural implements and taught how to till the soil in a more skillful manner. (3)

The Moravians, however, were the most energetic and successful missionaries. They began their activities in Pennsylvania about 1740, from which time until the end of the century they were constantly active. At the outbreak of the French and Indian War a number of converts were already living with them at Bethlehem. (4) Under the name of the *Society of the United Brethren for propagating the gospel among the heathen* they were incorporated by a law of the commonwealth. (5)

The Moravians, however, were not alone in their labors. The *Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge* was also active. Its most important missionary in Pennsylvania was David Brainerd. He had studied three years

(1) HECKEWELDER, *Indian Nations*, 188.

(2) *Col. Rec.*, III, 79.

(3) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., I, 47.

(4) *Ibid.*, II, 761.

(5) *Statutes at Large*, XIV, 71.

at Yale and worked for some time at an Indian settlement near Stockbridge, Massachusetts, before taking up his labors at the forks of the Delaware in 1744. In the autumn of the year he visited the Susquehanna Indians and the next summer transferred to New Jersey where he met with the greatest success, baptising seventy-eight Indians. On the twentieth of March, 1747, after only three years of labor, he died at the home of Johnathan Edwards from pulmonary consumption brought on by exposure and hardship. (1)

The Presbyterians occasionally sent out itinerant missionaries, but seem to have established no permanent missions. Mr. Beatty, one of these missionaries, visited the frontier of Pennsylvania in 1776. The Indians were very attentive and seemed to desire instruction in religion, many coming to seek it individually; but the practical results of the trip were negligible. His journal shows that Mr. Beatty's hope was based upon the interest which the Indians showed and not upon actual conversions. (2)

He has left us the following description of one of his missionary services near Muskingum. "At eleven o'clock, or a little after, one of the council came to our hut, in order to conduct us to the Council House, where his majesty lives. A considerable number of men and women attended.

"I began divine worship by singing part of a psalm, having previously explained the general drift and meaning of it to them. (Psalmody, by the way, is exceedingly pleasing to the Indians.) I then prayed, and the interpreter repeated my prayer to them in their own language.

"I then preached to them from the parable of the prodigal son, Luke, XV, 11. By way of introduction, I gave some short account of man's primitive happy state—then of the fall—how all mankind were concerned therein, and effected by it—and that, this the bible taught us, and sad experience and observation abundantly confirmed. I then illustrated our sad condition, particularly by the prodigal son, and showed what hopes of mercy and encouragement there were for us to return to God, the father, through Christ." (3)

(1) EDWARDS, JOHNATHAN, *Memoirs of David Brainerd*, 5.

(2) BEATTY, CHARLES, *Journal*, "Upon the whole, there really appears a strange, nay, a strong desire prevailing in many of these poor heathens, after the Knowledge of the gospel, and the things of God, and a Door, as we before observed, to be effectually opening, or, rather, already opened for carrying to them the glad tidings of salvation, so that, if now proper measures were vigorously pursued, there is much reason to hope that the blessing of God might attend and crown attempts of this kind with success."

(3) BEATTY, *Journal*, 54-55.

This as given a little at a time through an interpreter "making things as plain as possible, using such similies as they were well acquainted with, in order to convey a more clear idea of the truth to their minds."

Some efforts were also made to instruct them in the fundamentals of reading, writing, and husbandry. At times they requested such instruction. In 1758, for example, Teedyuscung made a second request for ministers and school masters. (1) Although the government had promised to supply them, the promise had not been kept. (2)

After the Revolution we find provisions made at various times for the education of some of those Indians who still remained in or near the province. In 1791 the Quakers received and agreed to teach at their own expense two Seneca boys. They were to instruct them in reading, writing, and husbandry, "and especially to teach them to love peace." (3)

The government also at times assumed such expense. In 1795 an act was passed to provide for the education of John Metaxen, one of the Stockbridge tribe of Oneida Indians. It empowered the governor to furnish the said Indian at public expense with suitable lodging, clothing, and entertainment for a term not exceeding two years, and to place him in such school or schools during this period as he, the governor, might think proper. Three hundred dollars were appropriated for the purpose. (4) Again in 1797 provision was made for the education of John Konapat, another youth of the same tribe, and two hundred dollars appropriated for the purpose. (5)

The results of these efforts were by no means as great as could be wished, but they were still attended by some good results. Teedyuscung states that Indians lived better lives after their conversion than they had done before. (6) A number of Christian Indians who visited Philadelphia during the French and Indian War abstained entirely from the use of liquor and behaved themselves in an orderly and commendable manner. They expressed a great abhorrence of war and wondered much that the Christians were such

(1) *Col. Rec.*, VIII, 47.

(2) *Ibid.*, IX, 8.

(3) *Some Transactions between the Indians and Friends in Pennsylvania in 1791 & 1792.*

(4) *Statutes at Large*, XV, 295.

(5) *Ibid.*, XV, 514.

(6) *Col. Rec.*, VIII, 48. "You are wise men, You tell us the Christian Religion is Good, and we believe it to be so, partly from the Credit of your Words and partly because we see that some of our brother Indians who were wicked before they became Christians, Live better Lives now than they formerly did."

great warriors rather than lovers and cultivators of peace. (1)

The efforts of the Moravians were attended by the greatest success but they had probably baptised considerably less than a thousand Indians when their labors were disturbed by the Revolution. Several tribes, however, had received some instruction in the arts of civilization. Their Ohio colonies were flourishing. Here they dwelt peaceably and quietly together under the supervision of their teachers and ministers. (2) Their cabins and wigwams were neat and comfortable; their cornfields were well tilled. Nearby stood the church and the schoolhouse where they were taught the arts of peace and industry.

But under the very thin veneer of civilization was still an Indian. The inheritance of centuries could not be neutralized in a single lifetime. The Indian child brought up in all the white man's traditions and habituated to all his customs relapsed inevitably to the life of his ancestors if he but once visited his relatives and felt the irresistible charm of the camp fire by a mountain stream and experienced for a time the unrestrained freedom of a forest life.

(1) PROUD. *History of Pennsylvania*, II, 320.

(2) DARLINGTON, MRS. MARY C., *Fort Pitt and Letters from the Frontier*, 241.

CHAPTER II.
INDIAN TRADE.
1680-1770.

It is with considerable trepidation that I take up the subject of the Indian trader, because any account that can be given of him and his work must be unsatisfactory. He was a man of the woods and the pack horse trail, not a man of the pen. The sources of our information are, therefore, untrustworthy. They are for the most part laws made for the regulation of trade and the opinions of outsiders who were not acquainted with the actual conditions.

When the province came under his control, Penn decided that the Indians should be treated with fairness and honesty, that there should be no monopoly of trade by any person or company, and that they should be furnished only with those things which were beneficial. Before he came to the colony he wrote them a letter in order to open negotiations for a commercial treaty which would work to the advantage of both nations. (1) He was offered in June, 1681, six thousand pounds, together with a handsome annuity, for a monopoly of the trade between the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers. But although he was much in need of funds, he refused the offer because such a monopoly would take the control of trade out of his hands and subject the Indians to the machinations and corruption of a selfseeking commercial company. (2)

The fur trade of Pennsylvania grew so rapidly that by 1686 the authorities of New York began to fear that New York City and Albany would be depopulated. (3) A year later, on account of the continued encroachments upon their trade, they recommended to the king that all of Pennsylvania north of the falls of the Susquehanna should be joined to that province. (4) Nearly all the white inhabitants along the frontier bartered more or less with their Indian neighbors. Then of course there were those who made this their

(1) JANNEY, S. M., *Life of William Penn*, 196.

(2) *Mem. Pa. Hist. Soc.*, I, 212.

(3) *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III, 416. Governor Dongon's Report: "I am now informed that the people of Pennsylvania have had last year from the Indians, upwards of 200 packs of beaver down to the Skonshill and will have more this as I have reason to believe, which if not prevented, his Mty must not expect this Government can maintain itself, besides that it will wholly depopulate this Town & Albany.

(4) *Ibid*, 424.

chief occupation. James Logan reported to Governor Keith in 1719 that the Indian trade probably amounted to 40,000 pounds sterling per year. (1) In 1748 there were about twenty English traders at Logstown on the Ohio River. (2) The chief trading house here was that of George Croghan whose activities will be described later in this chapter.

As the Indians became gradually more hostile, they began to place obstructions in the way of the traders. They complained that roads were cut through their country and houses built without first having obtained their consent. (3) Then backed by the French they began to arrest and carry to Canada those who passed into the contested territory about the Ohio. In 1752 John Pattin was captured and carried finally to France. (4) After three months imprisonment he at last obtained his liberty through the intervention of friends, but was unable to gain the restitution of his confiscated goods. During the next year four men trading west of the Ohio were arrested and subjected to practically the same treatment. (5) The traders had by this time established posts on Lake Erie, on the Ohio River, and as far west as the Muskingum, Scioto, and Miami.

During the Indian wars, as has just been intimated, the losses of the traders were sometimes very high. George Croghan lost in 1756 150 pounds at his Muskingum post alone. (6) Two men in his employ were among those arrested and carried to France. The firm of Moynton, Wharton, and Morgan, which was extensively engaged in the western trade, was a heavy loser in 1763. The combined loss of all traders in this year was 85,000 pounds. (7) In 1774 William Wilson, a fur trader of Pittsburgh, with a great deal of difficulty escaped from the western woods leaving behind him nearly fifty horse loads of peltry. (8)

Soon after the conclusion of the French and Indian wars trade resumed its former prominence. A considerable proportion of it was carried on from Pennsylvania westward by the channel of the Ohio, and northward by the Allegheny River to Le Boeuf and Lake Erie. (9) Until the outbreak of Dunmore's War free intercourse was kept up between the

(1) HAZARD, *Register*, III, 212.

(2) THWAITES, *Early Western Travels*, I, 28.

(3) *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VI, 870.

(4) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 235.

(5) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 233.

(6) GIST, CHRISTOPHER, *Journals*, 108.

(7) *Ibid.*, 241.

(8) BYARS, W. V., *The First American Movement West*, 27.

(9) *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VIII, 26.

red men and the white, the Indians often visiting the settlements and the whites going far into the forest with their goods to exchange for pelts. Before the Revolutionary War Carlisle was the chief center of Indian trade; after that war Pittsburg, which had since 1763 been encroaching rapidly upon the older city, became the more prominent of the two. (1) This transfer of importance was inevitable on account of the Indians being driven gradually westward.

In the more northern colonies beaver skins occupy the most important place in Indian trade; but these, on account of their scarcity, were superceded in Pennsylvania by other products of the forest. Bear, moose, and deer skins; martin, otter, fox, and other furs; turkeys, game, and fish were in the early days brought down to Philadelphia and exchanged for powder, lead, blankets, cooking utensils, and brandy, or sold for wampum. (2) The Indians preferred wampum to silver money because they were acquainted with its value and could not easily be cheated in its use.

Zeisberger tells us that in his time the Indians for their pelteries received from the traders "powder, lead, rifle-barreled guns—for other weapons they do not value—blankets, strouds, linen, shirts, cotton, callemanco (calico), knives, needles, thread, woolen and silken ribbon, wire and kettles of brass, silver buckles,—these are considered as valuable as gold and with them they can purchase almost anything—bracelets, rings, combs, mirrors, axes, hatchets and other tools." (3) The goods for the Indian trade came chiefly from England and the skins and furs for which they were traded in turn found their way to that country. (4)

The traders were mostly frontier inhabitants who, having gained some knowledge of the Indian language and standing in need of money, were easily induced to engage in such undertakings. (5) The following description of them has been left by a contemporary: "The river (Ohio) flows quietly and evenly. Boats are going back and forth; even now one is coming, laden with hides from Illinois. The people on board are wearing clothes made of woolen bed blankets. They are laughing and singing after the manner of the French, yet as red as Indians, and almost the antipodes of their fatherland." (6)

(1) *Olden Time*, edited by N. B. Craig, II, 339.

(2) MYERS, *Narratives*, 382, 426.

(3) ZEISBERGER, *Indians*, 118.

(4) FRANKLIN, *Works*, III, 481.

(5) HANNA, C. A., *The Wilderness Trail*, I, 3.

(6) HULBERT, A. B., *Historic Highways of America*, XII, 87.

The most enterprising among the Pennsylvania traders, who as a class were noted for their enterprise, was George Croghan, the "king of the traders." He came to America from Ireland in 1741 and within a few years took out a license to trade. In 1753, compelled by approaching bankruptcy, he deserted the settled parts of the province and established a trading post near the Juniata River. His letters and journals furnish us almost the only reliable information upon the trader's life.

The ordinary trader, however, was far below Croghan in character. The traffic, on account of the great opportunity for unlicensed action and dishonest gain, attracted a disreputable class of men whom Penn and his successors tried in vain to eliminate. The escape from civilization and any sort of efficient governmental control gave free scope to all their basest passions and desires. Drunkenness, dishonesty, bloody quarrels, and debauchery of the Indian women were common, while cases of murder were occasionally reported. There was constant danger that these abuses would involve the province in war with the Indians. "I cannot but be apprehensive," wrote Governor George Thomas to the assembly in 1744, "that the Indian trade as it is now carried on will involve us in some fatal quarrel with the Indians. Our Traders in defiance of the Law carry Spirituous Liquors amongst them, and take the Advantage of their inordinate Appetite for it to cheat them out of their skins and their wampum, which is their Money, and often to debauch their wives into the Bargain. Is it to be wondered at then, if when they Recover from the Drunken fit, they should take severe revenges?" (1)

The assembly in 1754 expressed their opinion of the traders in clear and comprehensible terms. "We are now to join with the Governor, in bewailing the miserable Situation of the Indian Trade, carried on (some few excepted) by the vilest of our Inhabitants, and Convicts imported from Great Britain and Ireland, by which means the English Nation is unhappily represented among our Indian allies in the most disagreeable manner. These trade without Control, either beyond the Limits, or at least beyond the Power of our Laws, supplied as we are informed, by some of the magistrates who hold a Commission under this Government, and the other Inhabitants of our back Counties." (2)

Charles Williams, an early settler in Ohio, has left us an account of his methods of trade. "After some time I moved

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 854.

(2) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 287.

up the River where I came from—Carpenter's Station, Short Creek. Then had money, two horses. Then peace with the Ingens. I thought I would pay them up for what damage they had done me, stealing horses. And following them many miles, went out to New Cumer's Town. There I and three more persons fell in with thirty or forty Ingens. Give them a small cag of whiskey and keep one to trade on. They got pretty high soon, and came to take my bread, and got hold of the bag and run; but I soon over hauled him and took it away from him. Soon after they come to get more whiskey, and I sold them for one dollar a quart, one third water. Then I was paying them up. In two or three days I got done trading, and went home in fine heart, thinking what I would do next trip. Soon started out, with several horses loaded with articles for trade; one horse load with whiskey, as it would make two horse loads (after being watered). Come to the camp. Plenty of Ingens there, hungry for trade. I made a good trade for myself." (1)

The Indian was naturally unable to trade advantageously with the more experienced white. He was usually worsted in the bargain and often complained of it to the provincial government. But on account of the difficulties of supervision the evils could not be entirely prevented. Each continued to make the best bargain that he could and each was left to guard his own interests. (2) The Indian was obliged to look out for himself. "If they can deceive the whites," says Zeisberger, "they do so with pleasure, for it is not easily done. They are delighted, also, if they succeed in purloining something. They are fond of buying on credit, promising to pay when they return from the chase. The traders may be willing to take the risk, hoping to control all the catch. But if the Indians, on their return, find other traders in the country, they barter with them and trouble themselves no longer over their creditors. If the latter remind them of their debts, they are offended, for to pay old debts seems to them to be giving goods away for nothing. Usually traders learn from their losses to give nothing or but little on credit. This is the safest course and there is no danger of arousing the enmity of the Indians. When war breaks out the traders are the first in danger,

(1) HANNA, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 310.

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 433. Patrick to the Chiefs of the Five Nations: "As to Trade, they know 'tis the Method of all that follow it to buy as cheap and sell as dear as they can, and every man must make the best Bargain he can: the Indians cheat the Indians & the English cheat the English, & every man must be on his Guard."

not only of losing their property but also their lives. When the Indians suspect a war approaching, they keep it secret and take as many goods on credit as they can get; as soon as the war breaks out all debts are cancelled." (1)

After Pontiac's War the ministry drew up a plan to compel Indians to pay debts of fifty shillings or over upon pain of imprisonment. Franklin opposed it. (2) The Indians, he said, knew no such thing as imprisonment for debt; in fact they never imprisoned one another. If then the English attempted to imprison them, it would be generally disliked and occasion breaches. The valuation which they put upon personal liberty was so high and that upon personal property so low that imprisonment for a debt of a few shillings would appear extremely disproportionate. Debts of honor were generally as well paid as other debts. Where no compulsion could be used, it was considered the more disgraceful to be dishonest.

That contact with the traders had an evil effect upon the Indians is generally conceded by all who had any acquaintance with the situation. They had vices of their own, it is true, but from association with the outcasts of white society they could only add to them. "In treating of this subject," says Heckewelder, "I cannot resist the impression of a melancholy feeling, arising from the comparison which forces itself upon my mind of what the Indians were before the Europeans came into this country, and what they have become since, by a participation in our vices. By their intercourse with us, they have lost much of that original character by which they were once distinguished,—and the change which has taken place is by no means for the better." (3)

It was impossible to regulate Indian trade with any degree of thoroughness. The frontier was too extensive and the inhabitants too widely scattered. The Indians too did not always live in towns sufficiently large to encourage traders to live among them, but scattered about in families which shifted their situation as often as better hunting grounds seemed to entice them. (4) The government could not regulate the social and commercial intercourse of these scattered shifting peoples. It was also found impracticable

(1) ZEISBERGER, *Indians*, 117.

(2) FRANKLIN, *Works*, III, 480.

(3) HECKEWELDER, *Indian Nations*, 261.

(4) FRANKLIN, *Works*, III, 476.

to force the Indians to bring their furs to a central post when they could more easily and to better advantage dispose of them to their neighbors. Even if the province could have controlled the actions of her own traders, many non-residents came in from Maryland, Virginia, and New York, who refused to abide by the trade laws of Pennsylvania. A law was enacted in 1693 forbidding nonresidents to trade within the province under penalty of fine and confiscation of goods. (1) It was re-enacted several times but could not be enforced as is attested by the many Indian complaints. (2) The very nearness of other colonies made it difficult to control the kind and amount of goods which the Indians should be allowed to purchase. If they were refused any kind of goods within the colony, it was generally quite easy to purchase them just over the border. In 1682 some Indians asked that the prohibition on the sale of rum be raised because it was sold in Newcastle and their young men went down there, bought it, and were more debauched than if they had been allowed to purchase it at home. (3)

Trade, therefore, was left practically free and unrestricted. Any one could engage in it by obtaining a license from the governor; many traded unmolested without licenses. This threw its conduct into the hands of a great number of individuals, more or less irresponsible, who, when once they were hidden by the forest, seemed to forget all laws of God and man. The conduct of the French trade stood out in direct contradistinction to this. In Canada the right to trade was farmed out to the highest bidder for the benefit of the government. The operations of the traders were generally restricted to certain posts at each of which was stationed a military commander with a number of soldiers. (4)

Penn's *Conditions and Concessions* provided that all trade with the Indian should be carried on in the market places, and that all goods should be carefully tested. If they were found good, they were to pass; but if not good, they were not to be sold for such. (5) In 1701 a scheme was suggested by the proprietor of forming a company into which all would be free to enter under obligation of observing and submitting to all rules and regulations which the government might make. This, however, never went into

(1) *Charter and Laws of Pennsylvania*, 240.

(2) *Col. Rec.*, V, 229; *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., I, 425.

(3) HAZARD, SAMUEL, *Annals of Pennsylvania*, 531.

(4) HANNA, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 322.

(5) HAZARD, *Annals*, 518.

effect. (1) Instructions were sometimes issued to the traders to govern them in their dealings with the Indians. (2) While these were faithfully observed by some, most traders altogether ignored them when once they had gone beyond governmental control.

The most efficient method developed for the regulation of trade was the licensing of traders. (3) After 1710 no one was allowed to trade without a license issued by the governor under penalty of imprisonment and forfeiture of goods; after 1715 each was put under bond to observe the trade laws. (4) Landholders, however, were allowed to buy for their own use and to sell their own produce at will. This law, like all others, was evaded. (5) But it was much easier to enforce than any other because the trader could be required to show his license at any point; and in case his character proved undesirable or his dealings dishonest, his license for the following year could be refused.

The Indian agent was the most important factor in the enforcement of all trade laws. In case unscrupulous traders imposed upon the Indians, it was he who informed the governor and attempted to bring the offender to justice. At times he staved the casks of liquor which had been illegally imported. In general he did his best to see that satisfaction was furnished to the offended. (6)

During the French and Indian War we should naturally expect all converse with the Indians to be stopped; but the assembly during this period kept pressing upon the governor a trade bill which he, on account of his instructions, persisted in amending. (7) The governor considered that it would be of no service, but the assembly believed that the Indians could be won back to the English interest by a continuation of friendly intercourse. They rejected several times the governor's amendments and returned the bill to him as it originally stood. They argued that it was merely

(1) HAZARD, *Register*, VI, 11.

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., I, 243. In 1789 the following instructions were issued: Furnish no rum; do not trade with drunk Indians; Incense no Indian against any trader; all sell at a common price; give Indians a good example of sobriety of life; send all messages to governor immediately.

(3) *Statutes at Large*, II, 367; III, 60.

(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 866.

(5) EGLE, *Notes and Queries*, I, 403.

(6) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., I, 762. Conrad Weiser to the Provincial Government: "The Indians must have satisfaction for all possible injuries.—If all comes to all, rather than the poor Indian should be wronged, the public ought to make satisfaction if no remedy can be found to prevent it."

(7) FRANKLIN, *Review*, 291, 317, 325, 336.

an imitation of the law which long practice had shown to be beneficial, and that the governor should reconsider his amendments and let it pass. (1) After it had been sent back and forth a number of times and the assembly had been convinced that the governor would never sign it without the suggested amendments, they approved them together with a new amendment to determine the salary of the agents. (2) As the assembly had now accepted the amendments to the former bills, the council advised the governor to pass it if he was satisfied that the one thousand pounds said to be expended for Indian goods were actually so expended. The bill was, therefore, returned to the house with a message to that effect. (3) It became a law April 8, 1758.

The purpose of this law was to win the friendship of the Indians, lead to their civilization by providing preachers and teachers, and keep peace along the frontier. (4) It provided for the appointment of nine commissioners of Indian affairs whose duty it was to appoint Indian agents, to supply them with goods for trade, and to oversee intercourse in general. They were not allowed to engage in trade for themselves or for others. They supplied the traders with goods from a general stock appropriated by the assembly; and in case the trade should prove lucrative, they might borrow further sums to carry it on. In case of deficit taxes were to be levied to pay it. Goods were to be sold at prices sufficient merely to pay the expenses of the transaction and support the missionaries and teachers among the Indians. (5)

Trade, however, as carried on under the act proved unprofitable. The returns were not sufficient to pay the interest on the sums borrowed. (6) Teachers and preachers could not be provided as had been contemplated. The situation was explained to the Indians by Governor Hamilton in August, 1762. "You know that for some Years past the Government hath kept a great Store at Pittsburgh in order to supply you with goods, in exchange for your Skins & Furs, near your own Homes. Good men have been appointed to regulate the Prices of our Goods and your Skins, & great care has been taken that you should not be cheated or imposed upon by those who have from Time to Time kept the Provincial Stores; but I am sorry to inform you that the

(1) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 63.

(2) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 63.

(3) *Ibid*, VIII, 71.

(4) *Ibid*, VII, 450.

(5) *Statutes at Large*, V, 320-330.

(6) *Statutes at Large*, VI, 291.

charges of carrying our Goods & bringing back your Skins so many hundred miles on Horse back are so high that it is a great disappointment to that Trade, and we lose a great deal of money by it every year, insomuch that I fear that it will drop, unless your Uncles, the Six Nations, will consent to let us go with our canoes up the West Branch of the Susquehanna as far as we can, & build a few Store Houses on the Banks of that river to secure our Goods in as we pass and repass. This will cut off a long Land Carriage, and may be a means of encouraging the continuance of the Trade with you, & enabling our people to sell their goods to you at a reasonable rate. We intend to speak to your Uncles on this Subject." (1)

A new trade law was passed in April, 1763, but beyond reducing the number of commissioners to six and a few minor changes, it was merely a re-enactment of the law of 1758 (2) A few months later, on account of Indian hostilities and depredations making trade with them impracticable, the commissioners were required to sell all goods in their hands within eighteen months and turn over the proceeds to the provincial treasurer. (3) But on account of some goods at Pittsburgh being hard to sell to advantage, the time was extended until September 1, 1765, and the commissioners granted discretion in disposing of them. (4)

In 1766, and possibly a year earlier, the British ministers were discussing a plan for the control of Indian trade. (5) The colonies were to be divided into two districts, over each of which was a superintendent. In the northern district the trade was to be carried on at fixed posts, in the southern district within the Indian towns. The superintendents were not to be subject to the military power except in time of great danger. They or their deputies were to visit among the Indians annually. Credit was to be limited to fifty shillings by making debts for higher amounts irrecoverable. This general plan, however, remained in force only until 1769 when the king who considered that the legislatures of the respective colonies must be the best judges of what their situations and circumstances might require, turned over once more the control of trade to them. (6)

In February, 1770, an act was passed providing for the

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., III, 156.

(2) *Statutes at Large*, VI, 283-293.

(3) *Ibid*, 315.

(4) *Ibid*, 380.

(5) FRANKLIN, *Works*, III, 476.

(6) *Col. Rec.*, IX, 555: *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., III, 404.

appointment of six commissioners to confer with commissioners who might be appointed by the legislatures of the neighboring colonies to agree upon a general plan for the regulation of the Indian trade. They were charged to report with all convenient speed any action which might be taken in order that a proper law might be passed. (1) This is the last law in respect to Indian trade which appears upon the statute books. The legislature was soon involved in the more pressing questions leading up to the revolution, and when the war was over, so few Indians remained in the state that trade with them was no longer important.

The question of the rum traffic and its regulation is so important that I have reserved it for special consideration. In the first place it should be stated that the white man must be held responsible for the introduction of drunkenness among the Indians. The processes of distillation and fermentation were entirely unknown to them. (2) They had among them no intoxicating liquors except those which they received from the whites. The great prevalence of drunkenness was due to unprincipled traders who persuaded them to become intoxicated in order that they might the more easily cheat them of their goods. "When I come to your place with my peltrie," an Indian is represented as saying, "All call to me, 'Come, Thomas! here's rum, drink heartily, drink! it will not hurt you.' All this is done for the purpose of cheating me. When you have obtained from me all you want, you call me a drunken dog, and kick me out of the room." (3)

The Indian, however, was generally quite willing to purchase any spirituous liquors which were offered for sale. Many of the Indians themselves, especially the women, engaged in the rum traffic. (4) They imported it from the settled districts and sold it at a considerable profit, often taking from their customers everything they had, even to the rifles upon which their sustenance depended.

Intoxication, too, affected an Indian quite differently from a white man. The latter when very drunk usually falls asleep. The Indian on the other hand was thrown into the greatest agitation, dancing, running, and shouting. (5) Drunk Indians, says Beatty, "generally appear terrible, and behave like madmen; it is therefore very dangerous for

(1) *Statutes at Large*, VII, 339.

(2) HECKEWELDER, *Indian Nations*, 262.

(3) HECKEWELDER, *Indian Nations*, 267.

(4) ZEISBERGER, *Indians*, 90.

(5) BARTRAM, JOHN, *Observations*, 15.

white people to be with or near them at that time." (1) This observation is confirmed by Zeisberger, Heckewelder, and others best acquainted with Indian life and customs. (2) Disease was often caused by exposure; and as murders committed while drunk were not severely punished, this was often used as an excuse by those who sought revenge.

If trade in general was hard to control, the rum trade was particularly hard because this was the good upon which the trader depended for his profit. The Dutch attempted with little success to regulate the traffic, (3) but it was with the coming of the Quakers that the question was first taken up with earnestness. In 1682 a stringent law was enacted forbidding any person to furnish any Indian within the province with rum, brandy or other strong liquor under penalty of five pounds fine for each such offence. (4) From 1684 to 1701 the prohibition was raised. (5) In the year last named, after consultation with a number of chiefs, it was decided to renew it and a second act was passed much like that of 1682. (6)

But none of these laws was strictly obeyed. "The Europeans," says Falckner, "certainly did bring in beer and brandy, but who can help it that the savages take too much thereof? All kinds of laws and regulations have been made as to the quantity that might be given to them. However, they know how to obtain it by their cunning, although there are some mercenary people who for gain furnish them with drink in the forest." (7) The Indians complained of this liquor being brought among them and were thereupon authorized by the governor to stave the casks and destroy the liquor, in which action they would be protected by the government against all persons whatsoever.

In 1722 a more stringent measure was passed. (8) No one was to sell rum to the Indians or carry more than one gallon of liquor beyond the Christian settlements under penalty of twenty pounds fine or imprisonment. The governor and council, however, were allowed to give a reasonable amount at treaties, and any inhabitant of the province could give any Indian small amounts at his own dwelling.

(1) BEATTY, *Journal*, 41.

(2) ZEISBERGER, *Indians*, 90; HECKEWELDER, *Indian Nations*, 263.

(3) HAZARD, *Annals*, 314, 333, 372.

(4) *Ibid*, 623.

(5) *Col. Rec.*, II, 26.

(6) *Statutes at Large*, II, 169.

(7) FALCKNER, *Curieuse Nachricht*, 173.

(8) *Statutes at Large*, III, 311.

Although sincere efforts were made by the government and by the Quaker yearly meetings to put these laws into effect, they were compelled in the end to recognize the utter futility of approaching anything like a strict enforcement, and to be content with limiting as far as they could the amount of liquor imported. It was also found impracticable to carry on trade with the Indians, and thus maintain the chief bond of friendship with them without furnishing at least some moderate quantities of liquor. (1) When prohibition had been found impracticable, the government took up the question of regulation. The first agreement to this end was made in 1684. The governor and council held a conference with the Indians at which they agreed to submit to the English laws for drunkenness in case the prohibition was suspended. (2) This arrangement, however, was soon found unsatisfactory. Another plan was that of limiting the sale of liquor to licensed traders whose actions were more easily controlled, but selling by unlicensed traders could not be prevented.

The Indians saw that the prohibition of the liquor trade was really for their benefit, yet they continually opposed it. When strong drink was denied them, the desire for it gained the mastery and they petitioned to have the prohibition raised; when it was allowed them, they saw its evil effects and many complaints were registered against it. We therefore find them making vain sporadic attempts to exclude it from their villages. The chiefs at times prohibited the sale of strong liquors, but it was always obtained in some manner against which the chiefs were unable to protest. For example a sacrifice of rum would be used. The chiefs according to custom could not prevent importation for such a purpose. After the Indians had once gained a taste of the liquor at the sacrifice, they would go to the old women who dealt in it and obtain sufficient to satisfy their cravings. (3)

As has formerly been stated, the Indians during the periods of prohibition were authorized to stave all casks of rum brought among them. But few were staved. They were too fond of it to destroy it. (4) On the other hand it was carried in by their own men. Conrad Weiser, speaking

(1) *Votes of Assembly*, III, 158.

(2) *Charter and Laws*, 169.

(3) ZEISBERGER, *Indians*, 117.

(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 433. Governor Gordon to the Chiefs of the Five Nations: "As to rum, we have made divers laws to prohibit it, & made it lawful for an Indian to stave all the Rum that is brought to them.—But the Indians are too fond of it

to the Ohio Indians at Logstown in 1748, said, "You go yourselves and fetch horse loads of strong liquors; only the other day an Indian came to this town out of Maryland with three horse loads of Liquor, so that it appears you love it so well that you cannot be without it." (1)

The Indians at Allegheny in March, 1737, resolved in council that all strong drink in their towns should be destroyed and that whatever was imported after that date by either white or Indian should meet the same fate. Four men were appointed in each town to oversee the execution of the law. The resolution was signed by about one hundred Indians; all the rum in the towns, amounting to about forty gallons, was destroyed; (2) but as in former cases they soon began to backslide.

In conclusion it may be well to state that the rivalry between the French and the English for the control of the Indian trade of the Ohio Valley was one of the chief causes of the French and Indian War. The Indians at first were inclined to favor the English because they paid better prices. But as soon as the French saw that the English were outbidding them, they employed Indians to rob those who ventured farthest into their territory. By 1745 some tribes, incensed by the treatment which they had received at the hands of the English, were inclining strongly toward the French. In 1749 the English traders were warned out of the Ohio Valley, and soon after Joncaire was seen searching the upper Allegheny for a suitable site upon which to build a fort. After that the quarrel became rapidly more acute.

(1) CHAPMAN, *The French in the Allegheny Valley*, 155.

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., I, 551.

SCHOEPP, J. D., *Travels in the Confederation*, I, 146. A tribe of Indians living on the Susquehanna remove to the Ohio country "to escape the danger of intoxicating drinks, which had been brought among them by their new neighbors and were making idle all their efforts at keeping the peace and living orderly."

CHAPTER III.
THE DEFENCE OF THE FRONTIER.
1682-1800

The Quaker's Attitude Toward War.

Pacifism was one of the fundamental tenets of the Society of Friends. War, according to their view, could not be justified in any form. They followed the teaching of Christianity that the nations should beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. "Nor," argues Penn, "ought they for this to be obnoxious to Civil Government: since if they cannot fight for it, they cannot fight against it, which is no mean security to any state." (1) They were firm believers in the state and bowed obediently to its authority except when the law's demands clashed with those of their consciences. (2) Then they were adamant. Whenever, in spite of their political opposition, provisions were made for raising a militia in Pennsylvania, they as a society remained sullenly inactive, even when not expressly excused from the action of the law. (3) He who lived according to the true principals of religion, they contended, needed no other protection than that of the God "Who for the Sake of ten righteous Persons would have spared even the Cities of Sodom and Gomorrah." (4)

It was, however, impossible to hold all their members, particularly the younger and more progressive, to this orthodox but unnatural doctrine. There soon appeared a considerable minority who, although they held the orthodox belief as to offensive war, maintained that in case of attack a defensive war was clearly justifiable. (5) These at times

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- (1) PENN, WILLIAM, *Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers*, 37
 - (2) *Votes of Assembly*, II, 99. "That the Majority of the Inhabitants of this Province being of the People called Quakers, religiously persuaded against war, and therefore cannot be active therein; yet are as fully persuaded, and believe it to be their bounden Duty to pay Tribute, and yield due Obedience to the Powers God has set over them in all things, as far as their religious persuasions can permit."
 - (3) *Col. Rec.*, XV, 418.
 - (4) *Votes of Assembly*, III, 367.
 - (5) FRANKLIN, *Autobiography*, 151.

even took part in military operations, (1) but their action was always promptly repudiated by the society.

A distinction was also made between warfare and the preservation of internal peace. Their state existed primarily for the maintenance of public order; and if its existence was to continue, it must have the power to protect itself against internal insurrections and rebellions. (2) It must maintain order if necessary at the point of the magistrate's sword. The execution of a criminal, whose existence threatened the life and property of every individual within the state, was considered quite different from the killing on the battlefield of a soldier whose only crime was obedience to the command of his sovereign. The Quakers sympathized with and aided in raising money for the construction of a fort below the city of Philadelphia as a protection against pirates. (3) Some even aided in the work of construction.

While the Quakers were principled against participating personally in any military undertaking, they did not condemn the use of arms by others. Franklin states that the defence of the province was not disagreeable to them as long as they were not required to assist in it. (4) When in times of public danger the governor stated to the assembly his purpose to put the province in a condition for defence, they offered usually no objection as long as military service remained purely a voluntary matter. (5)

Penn himself was opposed to the use of force as has been shown by the quotation from his *Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers*. He also drew up a plan for the pacification of Europe. (6) When confronted with the actual necessities of government, his ac-

(1) *Mem. Pa. Hist. Soc.*, X, 130-136.

(2) BUDD, THOMAS, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey*, 73. "I do believe it to be both lawful and expedient to bring offenders to justice by the power of the magistrate's sword, which is not to be used in vain, but may be used against such as raise Rebellions and Insurrections against the Government of the Country, be they Indians or others, otherwise it is vain for us to pretend to Magistracy or Government."

(3) *True and Impartial State of the Province of Pennsylvania*, 49 ROUSSELOT DE SURGY, *Historie naturelle et Politique de la Pennsylvanie*, 201. "La crainte de tomber en un instant an pouvoir des corsaires ennemis, leur fit supprimer toutes representations. Quelquesuns meme y travaillerent de leurs mains d'autres fournirent de l'argent, & toutes les provisions necessaires."

(4) FRANKLIN, *Autobiography*, 151.

(5) *Votes of Assembly*, II, 274.

(6) *See Old South Leaflets*, III, No. 75.

tions did not conform exactly to his theory. He accepted from the king a charter which empowered him to levy, muster, and train troops, to make war, and to pursue enemies or robbers even beyond the limits of the province. (1) These are rather extensive military powers for a peaceful minded Quaker, (2) yet there is no record that Penn protested against them. James Logan testifies that in the few years during which the proprietor administered the government in person he found himself so embarrassed between his evident duties as a governor and his expressed convictions as a Quaker that he was determined, if he had remained, to perform those duties through a deputy. (3) During his absences he almost invariably appointed non-Quaker deputy governors. That this was not a premeditated policy can hardly be assumed. James Logan is the most important example of those who refused to be bound by the principle of non-resistance. In 1741 he wrote a letter to the yearly meeting in which he upheld defensive warfare. (4) While condemning offensive war, he maintained that the bearing of arms for self defence is lawful. The Quakers, he says, "although they allege they cannot for Conscience-sake bear Arms, as being contrary to the peace-

(1) HAZARD, *Annals*, 496.

(2) *Votes of Assembly*, III, 365. Governor Thomas to Assembly. "A mind employed as mine has been, about the Defence of the Province, has long since made itself acquainted with the Powers granted in the Royal Charter for that End; and I think that it may be reasonably concluded...that the first Proprietor, tho' one of the People called Quakers, must have entertained an Opinion (however different from yours) of the Lawfulness and Necessity of bearing Arms in the Defence of his Government against the Invasion of Enemies, otherwise he would not have accepted of the Powers of a Captain General in that Charter."

(3) *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, VI, 407: James Logan to the Yearly Meeting, 1741: "And I am a witness that in those two years, or somewhat less, that the Proprietor took the Administration on himself, when last here, He found himself so embarrassed between the indispensable Duties of Government on the one Hand, and his profession on the other, that he was determined, if he had staid, to act by a Deputy."

(4) *Ibid*, VI, 402-411. This letter was refused a reading in the meeting. Besides the quotation given in the text, the following extract is interesting: "But as I have always endeavored to think and act consistently myself, observing Friends had laid it down for their Principle, That Bearing of Arms, even for Self-Defence, is unlawful; being of a different Opinion in this Respect, though I ever condemned offensive War, I, therefore, in a great Measure, declined that due attendance on their Meetings of Business, which I might otherwise have given."

able Doctrine of Jesus (whose Disciples nevertheless are known to have carried Weapons) yet, without regard to others of Christ's Precepts, full as express, against laying up Treasure in this World, and not caring for the morrow, they are as intente as any others in amassing Riches."

The Quaker principles were put to their first serious test at the outbreak of the French and Indian War. The frontier inhabitants, incensed by the depredations of the Indians, demanded protection by a military organization. The Quakers stoutly opposed it. In opposition to the petitions for defence came their addresses protesting against the use of force and the payment of a tax for such purposes. (1) Committees were sent to interview all those with whom they had any connections; their sermons were adapted to show the sin of taking up arms and to persuade the people to remain true to their principles. (2) Some even declared that Braddock's Defeat had come as a just judgment for attempting to disturb the French in their settlements. (3) In 1757 the bodies of a number of inhabitants who had been killed and scalped at Swatara Gap were paraded through Lancaster as a spectacle for some Quakers who were then in that town. (4)

When, as the war forced upon the government the adoption of a military policy, the pacifists felt their grip upon the government relaxing, they formed themselves into an extralegal society pledged to maintain, as far as possible, the old doctrines. This was known as *The Friendly Association for regaining and preserving Peace with the Indians by pacific Measures*. During the next few years they, with the aid of the Germans, voluntarily contributed several thousand pounds toward regaining the good will of the Indians. (5) They began in 1756 by opposing a declaration of war against the Indians until pacific measures had first been tried. Finding that the governor and council did not agree with their plans, they addressed a letter to the general assembly. Their efforts to gain this point, however, were in vain. They continued nevertheless to write letters to officers, intrude at treaties, and make presents

- (1) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 487. Quaker protest against raising money for defence: "We apprehend many of Us will be under necessity of suffering rather than Consenting Thereto by the payment of a Tax for such Purposes."
- (2) *Ibid.*, 4th ser., II, 478.
- (3) *Ibid.*, 489.
- (4) BLACH, THOMAS, *Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania*, 78.
- (5) PROUD, *History of Pennsylvania*, II, 335.

to the Indians in spite of the protests of the governor and proprietors that such actions tended to prevent the successful issue of the government's plans. (1) In 1757 they advanced money to aid in sending messengers to the Ohio Indians in order, if possible, to regain their friendship. (2) During Pontiac's War they were still active. (3)

The Quaker's doctrine was severely criticised by many of his contemporaries, but he seems to have acted according to what he considered the wisest policy. His mistakes were made, to a great extent, because he did not understand the facts. During the early years his principles had been successful in maintaining the peace, and now when difficulties were arising, he thought that peace could be regained by a rigid prosecution of the old policy. Living in the southeastern corner of the province, he knew little of the frontier. He interpreted all news in terms of the olden days when Quakers and Indians smoked together in the shade of the elms. He did not understand that the restless progress of the western pioneers had now aroused in the heart of the Indian the apprehension that he would soon be driven from his hunting grounds. His policy had kept the peace for the first half century when whites were few and land was plenty; and now without considering the great change in conditions, he felt that upon him devolved the task of making the policy succeed still.

The Quakers, however, were not the only pacifists. Many of the Germans, belonging to various sects, were also opposed to war. (4) Then, too, having come so recently from the fatherland, they had not yet developed a sense of provincial patriotism. The struggle between the French and the English did not concern them. "They say it is all one to them which king gets the country, since, if they remain quiet, they will be permitted to enjoy their Estates, under the Conqueror, whoever he is; and as they have, many of them, lived under Popish rulers on their own Country, they give out that they know the worst that can happen." (5) But

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 836-837.

Col. Rec., VII, 647-648.

(2) *Ibid.*, 391. A receipt from George Croghan to the Friendly Association for one hundred pounds which they had contributed "for regaining and preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures, to be employed in sending messengers to the Ohio Indians, and obtaining a Conference with them, in order to endeavor to settle the Differences between them and the Subjects of His Majesty in this and the adjacent Provinces."

(3) *Ibid.*, IX, 141.

(4) ROUSSELOT DE SURGY, *Historie*, 223. "Ils sont encore plus ennemis de la violence que les Quakers: car ils ne se permettent pas meme de l'employer pour leur propre defense."

(5) SMITH, *Brief State*, 29.

in the heat of the war, when their lands were being devastated, their homes destroyed and their families murdered, they unlike the Quakers, often abandoned their pacific principles and joined in the defence of the province. This was probably due primarily to their position on the frontier where the necessity of defence was manifest. The Germans knew at first hand the conditions of which the Quakers, situated about Philadelphia, heard only reports.

Some historians of early Pennsylvania like to dwell upon the pacific principles of the Quakers and the readiness with which the Indians were captivated by their just and friendly measures. According to one of them the Quakers lived unharmed while others were being murdered all about them.

(1) Only two Quakers, he writes, were killed by Indians during the period of the wars, and these only when evidence appeared to show that they had given up their pacific principles. It is probably true that but few Quakers lost their lives in the Indian wars. This, however, was not due so much to the Indian's making a distinction between Quaker and non-Quaker as it was to the fact that the territory occupied by the Quakers was comparatively secure. Between them and the danger line was a broad belt of Scotch, Irish, and Germans in whose blood the thirst of the tomahawk was quenched before it could threaten these friends of peace.

Frontier Conditions.

The Quaker method of preserving peace was eminently successful during the first half of the eighteenth century. The Indians lived usually on terms of friendship with his white neighbor. He was ready to furnish food, assistance, or protection whenever they were needed. (2) His love for Penn was almost unbounded. (3) There were naturally occasional differences on questions of land or trade. But before 1750 the great majority of these differences were easily adjusted; the question of an Indian war was seldom seriously involved. During the earlier years attacks were feared from the sea rather than from the forest. (4) In

- (1) APPLEGARTH, A. C., *Quakers in Pennsylvania*, 54-56. One case was that of a young man who carried a gun with him on his way to work in order to shoot some squirrels. The other case was that of a young Quaker woman who had not been molested while others were being killed in great numbers. At last her fear became so great that she fled to a fort for safety. The Indians, thinking that she had deserted her pacific principles, killed her.
- (2) BUDD, *Good Order*, 65.
- (3) *Col. Rec.*, II, 628; III, 288.
- (4) *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IV, 965.

1709, for example, Governor Charles Gookin communicated to the assembly as follows: "The boldness of our Enemies this summer, in Plundering Lewis, Watering in our Bay, and sounding it as they passed along, is so remarkable, that it may justly give us occasion to apprehend a nearer visit; ---But at present we are so unprovided, that there is no money to pay an Express on any occasion." (1) Many demands were made by the crown for military aid against the French and Spanish, but until the second quarter of the eighteenth century there was no question of an attack upon the Pennsylvania frontier.

In April, 1728, however, Indian alarms frightened the frontier inhabitants of the County of Philadelphia and caused them to petition the government to take such measures as might be deemed necessary for their protection. Less than two weeks later, May 10, 1728, the inhabitants of Colebrookdale informed the governor that the Indians had already fallen upon the frontier settlers and that aid was imminently necessary. (2) In 1743, when the situation was becoming much more serious, Governor George Thomas who had formerly, on account of the defenceless condition of the province, petitioned the crown to order for their safety, was directed and required to lay before the king whatever plans he apprehended it would be necessary to adopt for the security of the province. (3) In 1745 the back inhabitants of Lancaster County petitioned the Government to provide them with arms and ammunition, but in spite of the governor's recommendation that the petition be granted, it was laid unanswered on the table. (4) Thus Quaker opposition to war left the frontier unprotected.

The event that finally awakened the Quakers to the seriousness of the situation and forced them to turn over the control of the government to those who were not principled against the use of arms was the attempt by the French to appropriate the western part of the province. Pennsylvania was expanding gradually westward; Canada was throwing out feelers to the south. On the Ohio their interests clashed. As early as 1719 Governor Keith became apprehensive of the growing power of the French. He urged upon the Lords of Trade the erection of a fort on Lake Erie to check their southern advance. (5) He feared, too, that the Six Nations would be enticed away from the English

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 305.

(2) *Ibid.*, 1st ser., I, 209, 213.

(3) *Ibid.*, I, 636.

(4) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 24.

(5) *Olden Time*, I, 7.

interest. (1) After the migration of the Delawares and Shawanese to the west James Logan became very earnest in his portrayal to the proprietors of the French danger. In 1731 he prepared a memorial on the state as the British Plantations which was presented to Walpole, (2) but that minister was too busy with his own concerns to notice interests so distant. Even the assembly seems to have appreciated the danger. (3) The friendly Indians of the west advised the building of a fort and the taking of aggressive measures, but their advice was not followed. (4) The only English west of the Alleghanies were the traders, who were sometimes seized and carried away as prisoners to Canada without the least struggle or opposition. Upon the very eve of the conflict, when the rumor of war was the chief subject of conversation in Philadelphia, it was generally ridiculed by the people as false. (5)

The frontier of Pennsylvania was, therefore, practically defenceless when the struggle started in 1754. It was not, however, until after Braddock's defeat that the province began to reap the fruits of its listless policy. The remainder of the shattered army was withdrawn from the frontier. The Delawares, Shawanese, and many other Indian nations went over to the French who promised to return to them their hunting grounds. (6) General Shirley refused to furnish protection by the regular troops, saying that Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland were populous enough to protect themselves. (7) The Indians fell first upon the inhabitants west of the Susquehanna. The settlement at the Great Cove was attacked, the houses burned, six persons killed, and seventeen carried away. The settlers of the frontier counties were driven into the interior, (8) and

- (1) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 361. William Keith to the Governor of New York: "The prudent apprehensions which we ought to have of the extravagant Growth of the French Settlements upon the Back of these Colonies, and the Inconveniences which must follow upon the Success of their Jesuits in debauching many out of the five Nation Indians from the English to a French Interest, are very fully and clearly set forth in your letter to me of the 20th of December last ----"
- (2) *Olden Time*, I, 8.
- (3) *Votes of Assembly*, III, 169. Assembly to Governor; "We cannot be without just Apprehensions of the daily Encroachments of the French, as well upon our frontiers, and our Indians, as those of our neighboring Colonies. This danger now seems very imminent;----"
- (4) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 238.
- (5) BALCH, *Letters and Papers*, 31.
- (6) *Col. Rec.*, VI, 768.
- (7) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., II, 474.
- (8) *Col. Rec.*, VI, 767.

in November and December the incursions were extended east of the Susquehanna River. (1) In November, Gadenhutzen, a Maravian settlement on the west branch of the Delaware, was burned and six persons killed.

During 1756 and 1757 the frontiers were still in danger. Cumberland and York counties were almost depopulated. (2) Fort Granville was burned by the enemy; Fort Shirley was evacuated by the governor's order. (3) The people everywhere were dispirited and clamoring for protection. The Indians pressed forward scalping and murdering as far as Swatara and Paxtang. It appeared that Lancaster was to become once more a frontier town, (4) but now upon a receding instead of upon an advancing front. The year 1758, however, brought relief.

During the remainder of the war the frontier of Pennsylvania was practically secure, but hardly had peace been declared when the storm broke forth again. The Indians, not the French, were now the instigators. Under their leader, Pontiac, they strove to hurl back the tide of whites which was driving them gradually westward. Almost without warning they fell upon the frontier settlers. Forts Pitt and Ligonier alone held out. Houses and mills were burned. The inhabitants of the West huddled together within the protecting walls of Fort Pitt; those east of the Alleghenies fled toward Lancaster and Philadelphia. (5) The ripe crops in the deserted fields stood waiting in vain for the reaper. The despondent settlers had so little faith in the expedition which was sent for their relief that none of them would join it, (6) although their service, on account of their acquaintance with the country, would have been of great value. Bouquet, nevertheless, succeeded in relieving Forts Ligonier and Pitt and in once more bringing peace to the distressed frontier.

In 1774 hostilities again commenced on account of the murder of some Indians by Virginians. The usual panic ensued. (7) The back settlers fled from their homes. There

(1) *Ibid.*, VI, 767.

(2) *Ibid.*, VII, 120, 233.

(3) *Ibid.*, VII, 278.

(4) BALCH. *Letters and Papers*. 79. Edwards Shippen to James Burd: "You will see by the inclosed papers, that the savages have been committing some murders near Swatara, and it appears to me that unless the Militia Act be passed, with the Governor's amendments, we of this borough (Lancaster) shall, in less than a month, become the frontiers."

(5) SMITH WILLIAM, *An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians in the year 1764*.

(6) *Ibid.*, 12.

(7) *Col. Rec.*, X, 192.

was fear of a general war, but the conflict was happily confined within rather narrow limits.

During the Revolution the red allies of the English committed their customary depredations. The Ohio Country and the upper Susquehanna Valley were the greatest sufferers. The western inhabitants were again driven into the forts where they could get no food from their plantations.

(1) Stockades with store houses were erected at Ligonier and Hannastown at public expense to protect the people and their goods. The massacres in Cherry and Wyoming valleys in the upper Susquehanna district are too well known to require more than a passing mention. After the Revolution isolated clashes still took place. (2) There were occasional alarms, (3) but the days of widespread destruction were over. The Ohio settlements like a wedge were forcing the danger farther west. It was only when the Indians were elated by their victories over Harmar and St. Clair that there were serious apprehensions that they would again fall upon Pennsylvania in numbers. "The late disaster of the army," wrote the inhabitants of Pittsburgh to the governor in 1791, "must greatly effect the safety of this place. There can be no doubt but the enemy will now come forward, and with more spirit, and greater numbers than they ever did before, for success will give confidence, and secure allies.---The Indians at present hostile are well acquainted with the defenceless situation of the town. During the late war there was a garrison at this place, though, even then, there was not such a combination of the savage nations, nor so much to be dreaded from them. At present we have neither garrison, arms, nor ammunition to defend the place." (4)

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- (1) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., V, 471. "The Distressed situation of our Cuntery is such, that we have no Prospect But Disolation and Distruction, the whole country on the north side of the Rode from the Alegany Mountains to the River is all kept close in forts;---In short there is very few Days there is not some murder committed on some part of our frontiers."
 - (2) *Col. Rec.*, XVI, 306.
Pa. Arch., 1st ser., XI, 377. James Marshall to Benjamin Franklin: "From numerous applications by the frontier Inhabitants, in the County of Washington, especially in that part of the county, where the families were killed last fall: I found it necessary early in the spring to order on duty, about twenty men, and to continue from time to time, nearly that number."
 - (3) *Pittsburg Gazette*, October 27, 1787. A report was received that some warriors having with them four scalps were encamped about sixty miles west of the town. A band of forty inhabitants marched out in quest of them, but their search was in vain.
 - (4) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., IV, 675.

Throughout these wars defence became gradually more difficult on account of the increasing extent of the frontier. In 1756 the frontier east of the Susquehanna River followed the line of the Blue Hills; west of that river it might be roughly drawn as a semicircle with a one hundred mile radius from Harris' Ferry. During the Revolution it extended from Wyoming to Pittsburgh. It was impossible to defend this line efficiently. The Indian method of fighting complicated the question. Their attacks were not made in large bodies; but parties of from five to twenty would creep noiselessly upon their unsuspecting victims, kill, scalp, and be gone before an alarm could be spread. Forts were of little avail against such a method of warfare unless the whole population could be gathered within their walls. The vast uncharted wilderness in which a campaign against the Indians must be carried on made it a thing of dread to the soldiers. "There is no refreshment for the healthy nor relief for the sick. A vast inhospitable desert, unsafe and treacherous, surrounds them, where victories are not decisive, but defeats are ruinous; and simple death is the least misfortune which can happen to them." (1)

The settlers on account of the lack of arms were often unable to defend themselves. During the earlier years this was due primarily to the poverty of the immigrants; all their surplus capital was expended in clearing and improving their lands. (2) But in later years it was often a case of negligence or carelessness. When Indian hostilities threatened in 1791, not more than one sixth of the western militia had guns. The considerable period of peace which preceded this outbreak had given them confidence that they would never be called upon to defend themselves again; and as game was becoming scarce, arms were of no great use to them. Most of these, therefore, had been sold to emigrants who were going to Ohio, Kentucky, or some other section of the new frontier. (3)

The Assembly and Military Affairs.

Such was the situation which confronted the provincial government of Pennsylvania---a frontier at first peaceful but later hostile, a problem of defence becoming more difficult as the settlements became more extensive. The government itself was divided on the issue. The deputy governors stood always for defence; the assembly before 1756 was invariably anti-military. The military powers of the governor, according to the charter, were sufficiently great;

(1) SMITH, *Bouquet Expedition*, 19.

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 883.

(3) *Ibid.*, 2nd ser., IV, 652, 786.

but could be of no avail without the enactment by the legislature of laws to compel service and an appropriation of money for the purpose. Governor George Thomas in an address to the assembly in 1743 concerning putting the provinces in a state of defence in case of a rupture with France argued in part as follows: "All that it is now possible for me to do is to issue a Proclamation requiring the Inhabitants to prepare themselves in the best manner they can to repel any attack that may be made upon Us, And to commission the best qualified to Levy, Muster, and Train them. Upon you it lies to prepare a Bill for obliging then to appear well Armed and Accountred at convenient Stated Times for their Instruction in Military Discipline, and whenever else it shall be necessary for the Defence of the Province; And as the Disposition of the Public Money is in You, it should be your Care likewise to provide a Stock of Arms and Ammunition, as well as to make some Provision for the security of our back Inhabitants against Inroads from the French Indians, And of this City; upon which the Trade of the whole Province chiefly depends, against any Attempt that may be upon it from the Sea." (1) The political history of military affairs before the French and Indian War is, therefore, that of a struggle between the governor and the assembly, the former favoring military defence and the latter opposing it.

This struggle began before the close of the seventeenth century on account of the wars between France and England spreading to their colonies. There was fear that the Five Nations would go over to the French interest; and Benjamin Fletcher, who for a short time was governor of Pennsylvania as well as of New York, recognizing the hopelessness of enticing the Quaker assembly into warlike measures, appealed to them for aid in the following message: "Gentl., I consider your principles that you will not Carie arms nor Levie money to make warr, though for your own defence, Yet I hope that you will not refuse to feed the Hungrie and Cloath the Naked. My meaning is to supply those Indian nations with such necessaries as may influence them to a Continuance of their friendship to these provinces. And now, Gentl., if you will consider, wherein I may be useful to you, according to the Tenor of my Commission, in redressing your grievances, (if anie you have,) you shall find me readie to act by the rules of Loyaltie, with a true regard to Libertie & propertie." (2) The assembly,

(1) *Ibid*, 4th ser., I, 881.

(2) *Ibid*, 171.

however, spent more time in reporting their grievances than in considering means of complying with his request. He, therefore, called them before his council and insisted that they should give a positive answer. (1) They reported finally, June 7, 1694, a bill to raise a fund, part of which should be expended in purchasing presents for the Indians, but the disposal of it remained in their own hands. (2) As this was considered unsatisfactory, the governor again called the assembly before him and insisted upon more definite action. They contended that their former bill met all requirements and were dissolved. (3) Again in 1795 a demand came from the queen through Fletcher to raise a quota of men. The council considered that they had no power to act in a matter so important. A meeting of the assembly was therefore called. (4) They, however, refused to provide for the raising of the men unless they were granted a charter of liberties, and were thereupon dissolved. (5) In the early years of the next century came further appeals for men, but the assembly consistently declined to furnish them. (6)

As the French peril began to cast its shadow over the province, the contest became more acute. Governor Thomas hurled volumes of argument against the assembly's defensive principles. "I must lament," he said, "the unhappy Circumstances of a Country, populous indeed, extensive in its Trade, bless'd with many natural advantages, and capable of defending itself, but from a religious Principle of its Representatives against bearing Arms, subject to become the Prey of the first Invader, and more particularly of its powerful Neighbors, who are known to be well armed, regular in Discipline, inured to Fatigue, and from thence capable of making long Marches, in Alliance with many

(1) *Col. Rec.*, I, 460, 462.

(2) *Ibid*, 468. "His Excellie ordered the reading of a bill giving one pennie in the pound.---The Council are of opinion that the sd bill Cannot pass, and that it is no answer to the Queen's Letter, nor does anie thing towards the support of the government."

(3) *Ibid*, 460, 472.

(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 75.

(5) *Ibid*, 82. Markham to Assembly: "Gentl., As oft as I press you to ansr the Late Quenn's Letter for the Supplie of New York, your ansr to me is that your privileges ought to be confirmed to you. I never did, nor ever shall endeavor to diminish them. But Gentl., Since there's no Likehood of obtaining from you anie ansr to the Late Quenn's Letter, nor to his Excellie Govr. Fletcher's Demands thereupon, Unless Ile enter upon and grant you a Charter of privileges, I dissolve you, and you are hereby dissolved."

(6) *N. Y. Col Docs.*, V, 71, 78.
Votes of Assembly, II, 34, 36.

Nations of Indians, and of a boundless ambition." (1) He accused them of inconsistency in making a distinction between the execution of a criminal and the killing of a soldier in the defence of a state. "If a Burglar acts contrary to the Laws of Christianity and of the land in breaking open your Houses, and by those Laws you are justified in putting him to Death; and if a soldier acts contrary to the Laws of Christianity (as he does according to your own principles) and the Laws of Nations, in plundering your Houses and murdering your Families, it will be difficult to show why you may not as justly put the latter to Death as the former." (2) He considered, too, that assemblymen should be the watchmen of the whole people, not of a particular religious sect. (3)

The assembly in justification of their conduct urged that they were exempt from military service by a charter of privileges granted to them by the first proprietor and by their own laws; that the colony had existed and prospered without forts or militia; that being a peaceful people, there was no danger of their neighbors molesting them; and that in case of emergency the proprietor was obliged to defend his province. It was found, however, upon examination that they were nowhere exempted by law from military service; and that the proprietor, although his personal interests might be greater, was no more obliged to defend the province at his own expense than the governor of any other colony. (4) The argument that there was no danger from their neighbors reflects once more their misunderstanding of the real situation.

A circular signed by Conrad Weiser was published by order of the proprietors in order to draw the Germans over to their viewpoint. (5) It refuted the idea, instilled by the Quakers, that the proprietors were endeavoring to enslave the inhabitants of their province, and called upon them out of gratitude for the privileges they were enjoying to elect assemblymen who would show their loyalty to the government by a vote of supplies. This was answered by an anonymous writer who disparaged Weiser's statements and accused him of either being deceived or attempting to

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 693.

(2) *Ibid.*, 699.

(3) *Ibid.*, 712. "But as every account from Europe gives us more and more reason to apprehend a general War, you must excuse me if I still consider you as the Representatives and the Watchmen of the whole People of the Province, and not of a particular religious Society,---"

(4) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 273.

(5) *EGLÉ, Notes and Queries*, 4th ser., I, 33.

deceive his countrymen. Weiser had recently been made justice of the peace. He was now, says, this author, seeking to make his position secure by ingratiating himself with the governor. The chief positive argument was that the encroachments of the proprietors tended to bring upon them the same slavery which they had left their own country to escape. (1) But in spite of all representations the Germans, as well as most of the other citizens, gave their support to the policy of the Quaker representatives by re-electing them to the assembly until the outbreak of war in 1755 brought with it the necessity of more strenuous measures.

When the requisitions upon them to raise men or money became too urgent to be refused, the assembly managed generally to comply with the spirit of the demand without disturbing their consciences. As long as they were required to perform no military service and to grant no money for definite military ends they were satisfied. Since they did not condemn the use of arms in others, they raised no objections to their grants being turned to military ends. Their plan was to throw the responsibility from their own shoulders and let it fall where it would. They granted at various times thousands of pounds "for the king's use" or "for the queen's use" without stating definitely how it should be expended. (2) This, they said, did not concern them. At other times they stated particularly not only how the money should be raised but also how it should be used. (3) In 1745, for example, a grant of four thousand pounds was made for "bread, beef, pork, flower, wheat, or other grain," although it was well known that provisions were plentiful. The words "other grain" were interpreted to mean powder. The assembly made no objection and the money was so expended. (4)

There was sometimes difficulty in raising the money after it had been granted by the assembly. As proof of this we have a message of Governor Charles Gookin to the assembly. "But I must first recommend to you," he wrote, "as I did to the last assembly, that the 2000 Granted for the Queen's use, may be made ready paymt. when Demanded:---for notwithstanding the Powers Given for the Raising that money, 'tis not yet paid in." (5)

The outbreak of the French and Indian War brought to

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., II, 675-679.

(2) *Votes of Assembly*, II, 98.

(3) *Col. Rec.*, I, 361; IV, 366; VI, 133.

(4) FRANKLIN, *Autobiography*, 154.

(5) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 320.

See p. 51

to the Ohio Indians at Logstown in 1748, said, "You go yourselves and fetch horse loads of strong liquors; only the other day an Indian came to this town out of Maryland with three horse loads of Liquor, so that it appears you love it so well that you cannot be without it." (1)

The Indians at Allegheny in March, 1737, resolved in council that all strong drink in their towns should be destroyed and that whatever was imported after that date by either white or Indian should meet the same fate. Four men were appointed in each town to oversee the execution of the law. The resolution was signed by about one hundred Indians; all the rum in the towns, amounting to about forty gallons, was destroyed; (2) but as in former cases they soon began to backslide.

In conclusion it may be well to state that the rivalry between the French and the English for the control of the Indian trade of the Ohio Valley was one of the chief causes of the French and Indian War. The Indians at first were inclined to favor the English because they paid better prices. But as soon as the French saw that the English were outbidding them, they employed Indians to rob those who ventured farthest into their territory. By 1745 some tribes, incensed by the treatment which they had received at the hands of the English, were inclining strongly toward the French. In 1749 the English traders were warned out of the Ohio Valley, and soon after Joncaire was seen searching the upper Allegheny for a suitable site upon which to build a fort. After that the quarrel became rapidly more acute.

(1) CHAPMAN, *The French in the Allegheny Valley*, 155.

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., I, 551.

SCHOEFF, J. D., *Travels in the Confederation*, I, 146. A tribe of Indians living on the Susquehanna remove to the Ohio country "to escape the danger of intoxicating drinks, which had been brought among them by their new neighbors and were making idle all their efforts at keeping the peace and living orderly."

CHAPTER III.
THE DEFENCE OF THE FRONTIER.
1682-1800

The Quaker's Attitude Toward War.

Pacifism was one of the fundamental tenets of the Society of Friends. War, according to their view, could not be justified in any form. They followed the teaching of Christianity that the nations should beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. "Nor," argues Penn, "ought they for this to be obnoxious to Civil Government: since if they cannot fight for it, they cannot fight against it, which is no mean security to any state." (1) They were firm believers in the state and bowed obediently to its authority except when the law's demands clashed with those of their consciences. (2) Then they were adamant. Whenever, in spite of their political opposition, provisions were made for raising a militia in Pennsylvania, they as a society remained sullenly inactive, even when not expressly excused from the action of the law. (3) He who lived according to the true principals of religion, they contended, needed no other protection than that of the God "Who for the Sake of ten righteous Persons would have spared even the Cities of Sodom and Gomorrah." (4)

It was, however, impossible to hold all their members, particularly the younger and more progressive, to this orthodox but unnatural doctrine. There soon appeared a considerable minority who, although they held the orthodox belief as to offensive war, maintained that in case of attack a defensive war was clearly justifiable. (5) These at times

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- (1) PENN, WILLIAM, *Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers*, 37.
 - (2) *Votes of Assembly*, II, 99. "That the Majority of the Inhabitants of this Province being of the People called Quakers, religiously persuaded against war, and therefore cannot be active therein; yet are as fully persuaded, and believe it to be their bounden Duty to pay Tribute, and yield due Obedience to the Powers God has set over them in all things, as far as their religious persuasions can permit."
 - (3) *Col. Rec.*, XV, 418.
 - (4) *Votes of Assembly*, III, 367.
 - (5) FRANKLIN, *Autobiography*, 151.

even took part in military operations, (1) but their action was always promptly repudiated by the society.

A distinction was also made between warfare and the preservation of internal peace. Their state existed primarily for the maintenance of public order; and if its existence was to continue, it must have the power to protect itself against internal insurrections and rebellions. (2) It must maintain order if necessary at the point of the magistrate's sword. The execution of a criminal, whose existence threatened the life and property of every individual within the state, was considered quite different from the killing on the battlefield of a soldier whose only crime was obedience to the command of his sovereign. The Quakers sympathized with and aided in raising money for the construction of a fort below the city of Philadelphia as a protection against pirates. (3) Some even aided in the work of construction.

While the Quakers were principled against participating personally in any military undertaking, they did not condemn the use of arms by others. Franklin states that the defence of the province was not disagreeable to them as long as they were not required to assist in it. (4) When in times of public danger the governor stated to the assembly his purpose to put the province in a condition for defence, they offered usually no objection as long as military service remained purely a voluntary matter. (5)

Penn himself was opposed to the use of force as has been shown by the quotation from his *Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers*. He also drew up a plan for the pacification of Europe. (6) When confronted with the actual necessities of government, his ac-

(1) *Mem. Pa. Hist. Soc.*, X, 130-136.

(2) BUDD, THOMAS, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey*, 73. "I do believe it to be both lawful and expedient to bring offenders to justice by the power of the magistrate's sword, which is not to be used in vain, but may be used against such as raise Rebellions and Insurrections against the Government of the Country, be they Indians or others, otherwise it is vain for us to pretend to Magistracy or Government."

(3) *True and Impartial State of the Province of Pennsylvania*, 49 ROUSSELOT DE SURGY, *Historie naturelle et Politique de la Pennsylvanie*, 201. "La crainte de tomber en un instant au pouvoir des corsaires ennemis, leur fit supprimer toutes representations. Quelquesuns meme y travaillerent de leurs mains d'autres fournirent de l'argent, & toutes les provisions necessaires."

(4) FRANKLIN, *Autobiography*, 151.

(5) *Votes of Assembly*, II, 274.

(6) *See Old South Leaflets*, III, No. 75.

tions did not conform exactly to his theory. He accepted from the king a charter which empowered him to levy, muster, and train troops, to make war, and to pursue enemies or robbers even beyond the limits of the province. (1) These are rather extensive military powers for a peaceful minded Quaker, (2) yet there is no record that Penn protested against them. James Logan testifies that in the few years during which the proprietor administered the government in person he found himself so embarrassed between his evident duties as a governor and his expressed convictions as a Quaker that he was determined, if he had remained, to perform those duties through a deputy. (3) During his absences he almost invariably appointed non-Quaker deputy governors. That this was not a premeditated policy can hardly be assumed. James Logan is the most important example of those who refused to be bound by the principle of non-resistance. In 1741 he wrote a letter to the yearly meeting in which he upheld defensive warfare. (4) While condemning offensive war, he maintained that the bearing of arms for self defence is lawful. The Quakers, he says, "although they allege they cannot for Conscience-sake bear Arms, as being contrary to the peace-

(1) HAZARD, *Annals*, 496.

(2) *Votes of Assembly*, III, 365. Governor Thomas to Assembly. "A mind employed as mine has been, about the Defence of the Province, has long since made itself acquainted with the Powers granted in the Royal Charter for that End; and I think that it may be reasonably concluded---that the first Proprietor, tho' one of the People called Quakers, must have entertained an Opinion (however different from yours) of the Lawfulness and Necessity of bearing Arms in the Defence of his Government against the Invasion of Enemies, otherwise he would not have accepted of the Powers of a Captain General in that Charter."

(3) *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, VI, 407. James Logan to the Yearly Meeting, 1741: "And I am a witness that in those two years, or somewhat less, that the Proprietor took the Administration on himself, when last here, He found himself so embarrassed between the indispensible Duties of Government on the one Hand, and his profession on the other, that he was determined, if he had staid, to act by a Deputy."

(4) *Ibid.*, VI, 402-411. This letter was refused a reading in the meeting. Besides the quotation given in the text, the following extract is interesting: "But as I have always endeavored to think and act consistently myself, observing Friends had laid it down for their Principle, That Bearing of Arms, even for Self-Defence, is unlawful; being of a different Opinion in this Respect, though I ever condemned offensive War, I, therefore, in a great Measure, declined that due attendance on their Meetings of Business, which I might otherwise have given."

able Doctrine of Jesus (whose Disciples nevertheless are known to have carried Weapons) yet, without regard to others of Christ's Precepts, full as express, against laying up Treasure in this World, and not caring for the morrow, they are as intente as any others in amassing Riches."

The Quaker principles were put to their first serious test at the outbreak of the French and Indian War. The frontier inhabitants, incensed by the depredations of the Indians, demanded protection by a military organization. The Quakers stoutly opposed it. In opposition to the petitions for defence came their addresses protesting against the use of force and the payment of a tax for such purposes. (1) Committees were sent to interview all those with whom they had any connections; their sermons were adapted to show the sin of taking up arms and to persuade the people to remain true to their principles. (2) Some even declared that Braddock's Defeat had come as a just judgment for attempting to disturb the French in their settlements. (3) In 1757 the bodies of a number of inhabitants who had been killed and scalped at Swatara Gap were paraded through Lancaster as a spectacle for some Quakers who were then in that town. (4)

When, as the war forced upon the government the adoption of a military policy, the pacifists felt their grip upon the government relaxing, they formed themselves into an extralegal society pledged to maintain, as far as possible, the old doctrines. This was known as *The Friendly Association for regaining and preserving Peace with the Indians by pacific Measures*. During the next few years they, with the aid of the Germans, voluntarily contributed several thousand pounds toward regaining the good will of the Indians. (5) They began in 1756 by opposing a declaration of war against the Indians until pacific measures had first been tried. Finding that the governor and council did not agree with their plans, they addressed a letter to the general assembly. Their efforts to gain this point, however, were in vain. They continued nevertheless to write letters to officers, intrude at treaties, and make presents

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- (1) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 487. Quaker protest against raising money for defence: "We apprehend many of Us will be under necessity of suffering rather than Consenting Thereto by the payment of a Tax for such Purposes."
 - (2) *Ibid.*, 4th ser., II, 478.
 - (3) *Ibid.*, 489.
 - (4) BLACH, THOMAS, *Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania*, 78.
 - (5) PROUD, *History of Pennsylvania*, II, 335.

to the Indians in spite of the protests of the governor and proprietors that such actions tended to prevent the successful issue of the government's plans. (1) In 1757 they advanced money to aid in sending messengers to the Ohio Indians in order, if possible, to regain their friendship. (2) During Pontiac's War they were still active. (3)

The Quaker's doctrine was severely criticised by many of his contemporaries, but he seems to have acted according to what he considered the wisest policy. His mistakes were made, to a great extent, because he did not understand the facts. During the early years his principles had been successful in maintaining the peace, and now when difficulties were arising, he thought that peace could be regained by a rigid prosecution of the old policy. Living in the southeastern corner of the province, he knew little of the frontier. He interpreted all news in terms of the olden days when Quakers and Indians smoked together in the shade of the elms. He did not understand that the restless progress of the western pioneers had now aroused in the heart of the Indian the apprehension that he would soon be driven from his hunting grounds. His policy had kept the peace for the first half century when whites were few and land was plenty; and now without considering the great change in conditions, he felt that upon him devolved the task of making the policy succeed still.

The Quakers, however, were not the only pacifists. Many of the Germans, belonging to various sects, were also opposed to war. (4) Then, too, having come so recently from the fatherland, they had not yet developed a sense of provincial patriotism. The struggle between the French and the English did not concern them. "They say it is all one to them which king gets the country, since, if they remain quiet, they will be permitted to enjoy their Estates, under the Conqueror, whoever he is; and as they have, many of them, lived under Popish rulers on their own Country, they give out that they know the worst that can happen." (5) But

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 836-837.

Col. Rec., VII, 647-648.

(2) *Ibid.*, 391. A receipt from George Croghan to the Friendly Association for one hundred pounds which they had contributed "for regaining and preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures, to be employed in sending messengers to the Ohio Indians, and obtaining a Conference with them, in order to endeavor to settle the Differences between them and the Subjects of His Majesty in this and the adjacent Provinces."

(3) *Ibid.*, IX, 141.

(4) ROUSSELOT DE SURGY, *Historie*, 223. "Ils sont encore plus ennemis de la violence que les Quakers: car ils ne se permettent pas meme de l'employer pour leur propre defense."

(5) SMITH, *Brief State*, 29.

in the heat of the war, when their lands were being devastated, their homes destroyed and their families murdered, they unlike the Quakers, often abandoned their pacific principles and joined in the defence of the province. This was probably due primarily to their position on the frontier where the necessity of defence was manifest. The Germans knew at first hand the conditions of which the Quakers, situated about Philadelphia, heard only reports.

Some historians of early Pennsylvania like to dwell upon the pacific principles of the Quakers and the readiness with which the Indians were captivated by their just and friendly measures. According to one of them the Quakers lived unharmed while others were being murdered all about them.

(1) Only two Quakers, he writes, were killed by Indians during the period of the wars, and these only when evidence appeared to show that they had given up their pacific principles. It is probably true that but few Quakers lost their lives in the Indian wars. This, however, was not due so much to the Indian's making a distinction between Quaker and non-Quaker as it was to the fact that the territory occupied by the Quakers was comparatively secure. Between them and the danger line was a broad belt of Scotch, Irish, and Germans in whose blood the thirst of the tomahawk was quenched before it could threaten these friends of peace.

Frontier Conditions.

The Quaker method of preserving peace was eminently successful during the first half of the eighteenth century. The Indians lived usually on terms of friendship with his white neighbor. He was ready to furnish food, assistance, or protection whenever they were needed. (2) His love for Penn was almost unbounded. (3) There were naturally occasional differences on questions of land or trade. But before 1750 the great majority of these differences were easily adjusted; the question of an Indian war was seldom seriously involved. During the earlier years attacks were feared from the sea rather than from the forest. (4) In

(1) APPLEGARTH, A. C., *Quakers in Pennsylvania*, 54-56. One case was that of a young man who carried a gun with him on his way to work in order to shoot some squirrels. The other case was that of a young Quaker woman who had not been molested while others were being killed in great numbers. At last her fear became so great that she fled to a fort for safety. The Indians, thinking that she had deserted her pacific principles, killed her.

(2) BUDD, *Good Order*, 65.

(3) *Col. Rec.*, II, 628; III, 288.

(4) *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IV, 965.

1709, for example, Governor Charles Gookin communicated to the assembly as follows: "The boldness of our Enemies this summer, in Plundering Lewis, Watering in our Bay, and sounding it as they passed along, is so remarkable, that it may justly give us occasion to apprehend a nearer visit; ---But at present we are so unprovided, that there is no money to pay an Express on any occasion." (1) Many demands were made by the crown for military aid against the French and Spanish, but until the second quarter of the eighteenth century there was no question of an attack upon the Pennsylvania frontier.

In April, 1728, however, Indian alarms frightened the frontier inhabitants of the County of Philadelphia and caused them to petition the government to take such measures as might be deemed necessary for their protection. Less than two weeks later, May 10, 1728, the inhabitants of Colebrookdale informed the governor that the Indians had already fallen upon the frontier settlers and that aid was imminently necessary. (2) In 1743, when the situation was becoming much more serious, Governor George Thomas who had formerly, on account of the defenceless condition of the province, petitioned the crown to order for their safety, was directed and required to lay before the king whatever plans he apprehended it would be necessary to adopt for the security of the province. (3) In 1745 the back inhabitants of Lancaster County petitioned the Government to provide them with arms and ammunition, but in spite of the governor's recommendation that the petition be granted, it was laid unanswered on the table. (4) Thus Quaker opposition to war left the frontier unprotected.

The event that finally awakened the Quakers to the seriousness of the situation and forced them to turn over the control of the government to those who were not principled against the use of arms was the attempt by the French to appropriate the western part of the province. Pennsylvania was expanding gradually westward; Canada was throwing out feelers to the south. On the Ohio their interests clashed. As early as 1719 Governor Keith became apprehensive of the growing power of the French. He urged upon the Lords of Trade the erection of a fort on Lake Erie to check their southern advance. (5) He feared, too, that the Six Nations would be enticed away from the English

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 305.

(2) *Ibid.*, 1st ser., I, 209, 213.

(3) *Ibid.*, I, 636.

(4) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 24.

(5) *Olden Time*, I, 7.

interest. (1) After the migration of the Delawares and Shawanese to the west James Logan became very earnest in his portrayal to the proprietors of the French danger. In 1731 he prepared a memorial on the state as the British Plantations which was presented to Walpole, (2) but that minister was too busy with his own concerns to notice interests so distant. Even the assembly seems to have appreciated the danger. (3) The friendly Indians of the west advised the building of a fort and the taking of aggressive measures, but their advice was not followed. (4) The only English west of the Alleghanies were the traders, who were sometimes seized and carried away as prisoners to Canada without the least struggle or opposition. Upon the very eve of the conflict, when the rumor of war was the chief subject of conversation in Philadelphia, it was generally ridiculed by the people as false. (5)

The frontier of Pennsylvania was, therefore, practically defenceless when the struggle started in 1754. It was not, however, until after Braddock's defeat that the province began to reap the fruits of its listless policy. The remainder of the shattered army was withdrawn from the frontier. The Delawares, Shawanese, and many other Indian nations went over to the French who promised to return to them their hunting grounds. (6) General Shirley refused to furnish protection by the regular troops, saying that Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland were populous enough to protect themselves. (7) The Indians fell first upon the inhabitants west of the Susquehanna. The settlement at the Great Cove was attacked, the houses burned, six persons killed, and seventeen carried away. The settlers of the frontier counties were driven into the interior, (8) and

- (1) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 361. William Keith to the Governor of New York: "The prudent apprehensions which we ought to have of the extravagant Growth of the French Settlements upon the Back of these Colonies, and the Inconveniences which must follow upon the Success of their Jesuits in debauching many out of the five Nation Indians from the English to a French Interest, are very fully and clearly set forth in your letter to me of the 20th of December last ----"
- (2) *Olden Time*, I, 8.
- (3) *Votes of Assembly*, III, 169. Assembly to Governor; "We cannot be without just Apprehensions of the daily Encroachments of the French, as well upon our frontiers, and our Indians, as those of our neighboring Colonies. This danger now seems very imminent;----"
- (4) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 238.
- (5) BALCH, *Letters and Papers*, 31.
- (6) *Col. Rec.*, VI, 768.
- (7) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., II, 474.
- (8) *Col. Rec.*, VI, 767.

in November and December the incursions were extended east of the Susquehanna River. (1) In November, Ganadenhutten, a Maravian settlement on the west branch of the Delaware, was burned and six persons killed.

During 1756 and 1757 the frontiers were still in danger. Cumberland and York counties were almost depopulated. (2) Fort Granville was burned by the enemy; Fort Shirley was evacuated by the governor's order. (3) The people everywhere were dispirited and clamoring for protection. The Indians pressed forward scalping and murdering as far as Swatara and Paxtang. It appeared that Lancaster was to become once more a frontier town, (4) but now upon a receding instead of upon an advancing front. The year 1758, however, brought relief.

During the remainder of the war the frontier of Pennsylvania was practically secure, but hardly had peace been declared when the storm broke forth again. The Indians, not the French, were now the instigators. Under their leader, Pontiac, they strove to hurl back the tide of whites which was driving them gradually westward. Almost without warning they fell upon the frontier settlers. Forts Pitt and Ligonier alone held out. Houses and mills were burned. The inhabitants of the West huddled together within the protecting walls of Fort Pitt; those east of the Alleghanies fled toward Lancaster and Philadelphia. (5) The ripe crops in the deserted fields stood waiting in vain for the reaper. The despondent settlers had so little faith in the expedition which was sent for their relief that none of them would join it, (6) although their service, on account of their acquaintance with the country, would have been of great value. Bouquet, nevertheless, succeeded in relieving Forts Ligonier and Pitt and in once more bringing peace to the distressed frontier.

In 1774 hostilities again commenced on account of the murder of some Indians by Virginians. The usual panic ensued. (7) The back settlers fled from their homes. There

(1) *Ibid.*, VI, 767.

(2) *Ibid.*, VII, 120, 233.

(3) *Ibid.*, VII, 278.

(4) BALCH. *Letters and Papers*. 79. Edwards Shippen to James Burd: "You will see by the inclosed papers, that the savages have been committing some murders near Swatara, and it appears to me that unless the Militia Act be passed, with the Governor's amendments, we of this borough (Lancaster) shall, in less than a month, become the frontiers."

(5) SMITH WILLIAM, *An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians in the year 1764*.

(6) *Ibid.*, 12.

(7) *Col. Rec.*, X, 192.

was fear of a general war, but the conflict was happily confined within rather narrow limits.

During the Revolution the red allies of the English committed their customary depredations. The Ohio Country and the upper Susquehanna Valley were the greatest sufferers. The western inhabitants were again driven into the forts where they could get no food from their plantations. (1) Stockades with store houses were erected at Ligonier and Hannastown at public expense to protect the people and their goods. The massacres in Cherry and Wyoming valleys in the upper Susquehanna district are too well known to require more than a passing mention. After the Revolution isolated clashes still took place. (2) There were occasional alarms, (3) but the days of widespread destruction were over. The Ohio settlements like a wedge were forcing the danger farther west. It was only when the Indians were elated by their victories over Harmar and St. Clair that there were serious apprehensions that they would again fall upon Pennsylvania in numbers. "The late disaster of the army," wrote the inhabitants of Pittsburgh to the governor in 1791, "must greatly effect the safety of this place. There can be no doubt but the enemy will now come forward, and with more spirit, and greater numbers than they ever did before, for success will give confidence, and secure allies.---The Indians at present hostile are well acquainted with the defenceless situation of the town. During the late war there was a garrison at this place, though, even then, there was not such a combination of the savage nations, nor so much to be dreaded from them. At present we have neither garrison, arms, nor ammunition to defend the place." (4)

- (1) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., V, 471. "The Distressed situation of our Cuntry is such, that we have no Prospect But Disolation and Distruction, the whole country on the north side of the Rode from the Alegany Mountains to the River is all kept close in forts;---In short there is very few Days there is not some murder committed on some part of our frontiers."
- (2) *Col. Rec.*, XVI, 306.
Pa. Arch., 1st ser., XI, 377. James Marshall to Benjamin Franklin: "From numerous applications by the frontier Inhabitants, in the County of Washington, especially in that part of the county, where the families were killed last fall: I found it necessary early in the spring to order on duty, about twenty men, and to continue from time to time, nearly that number."
- (3) *Pittsburg Gazette*, October 27, 1787. A report was received that some warriors having with them four scalps were encamped about sixty miles west of the town. A band of forty inhabitants marched out in quest of them, but their search was in vain.
- (4) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., IV, 675.

Throughout these wars defence became gradually more difficult on account of the increasing extent of the frontier. In 1756 the frontier east of the Susquehanna River followed the line of the Blue Hills; west of that river it might be roughly drawn as a semicircle with a one hundred mile radius from Harris' Ferry. During the Revolution it extended from Wyoming to Pittsburgh. It was impossible to defend this line efficiently. The Indian method of fighting complicated the question. Their attacks were not made in large bodies; but parties of from five to twenty would creep noiselessly upon their unsuspecting victims, kill, scalp, and be gone before an alarm could be spread. Forts were of little avail against such a method of warfare unless the whole population could be gathered within their walls. The vast uncharted wilderness in which a campaign against the Indians must be carried on made it a thing of dread to the soldiers. "There is no refreshment for the healthy nor relief for the sick. A vast inhospitable desert, unsafe and treacherous, surrounds them, where victories are not decisive, but defeats are ruinous; and simple death is the least misfortune which can happen to them." (1)

The settlers on account of the lack of arms were often unable to defend themselves. During the earlier years this was due primarily to the poverty of the immigrants; all their surplus capital was expended in clearing and improving their lands. (2) But in later years it was often a case of negligence or carelessness. When Indian hostilities threatened in 1791, not more than one sixth of the western militia had guns. The considerable period of peace which preceded this outbreak had given them confidence that they would never be called upon to defend themselves again; and as game was becoming scarce, arms were of no great use to them. Most of these, therefore, had been sold to emigrants who were going to Ohio, Kentucky, or some other section of the new frontier. (3)

The Assembly and Military Affairs.

Such was the situation which confronted the provincial government of Pennsylvania---a frontier at first peaceful but later hostile, a problem of defence becoming more difficult as the settlements became more extensive. The government itself was divided on the issue. The deputy governors stood always for defence; the assembly before 1756 was invariably anti-military. The military powers of the governor, according to the charter, were sufficiently great;

(1) SMITH, *Bouquet Expedition*, 19.

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 883.

(3) *Ibid.*, 2nd ser., IV, 652, 786.

but could be of no avail without the enactment by the legislature of laws to compel service and an appropriation of money for the purpose. Governor George Thomas in an address to the assembly in 1743 concerning putting the provinces in a state of defence in case of a rupture with France argued in part as follows: "All that it is now possible for me to do is to issue a Proclamation requiring the Inhabitants to prepare themselves in the best manner they can to repel any attack that may be made upon Us, And to commission the best qualified to Levy, Muster, and Train them. Upon you it lies to prepare a Bill for obliging then to appear well Armed and Accountred at convenient Stated Times for their Instruction in Military Discipline, and whenever else it shall be necessary for the Defence of the Province; And as the Disposition of the Public Money is in You, it should be your Care likewise to provide a Stock of Arms and Ammunition, as well as to make some Provision for the security of our back Inhabitants against Inroads from the French Indians, And of this City; upon which the Trade of the whole Province chiefly depends, against any Attempt that may be upon it from the Sea." (1) The political history of military affairs before the French and Indian War is, therefore, that of a struggle between the governor and the assembly, the former favoring military defence and the latter opposing it.

This struggle began before the close of the seventeenth century on account of the wars between France and England spreading to their colonies. There was fear that the Five Nations would go over to the French interest; and Benjamin Fletcher, who for a short time was governor of Pennsylvania as well as of New York, recognizing the hopelessness of enticing the Quaker assembly into warlike measures, appealed to them for aid in the following message: "Gentl., I consider your principles that you will not Carie arms nor Levie money to make warr, though for your own defence, Yet I hope that you will not refuse to feed the Hungrie and Cloath the Naked. My meaning is to supply those Indian nations with such necessaries as may influence them to a Continuance of their friendship to these provinces. And now, Gentl., if you will consider, wherein I may be useful to you, according to the Tenor of my Commission, in redressing your grievances, (if anie you have,) you shall find me readie to act by the rules of Loyaltie, with a true regard to Libertie & propertie." (2) The assembly,

(1) *Ibid*, 4th ser., I, 881.

(2) *Ibid*, 171.

however, spent more time in reporting their grievances than in considering means of complying with his request. He, therefore, called them before his council and insisted that they should give a positive answer. (1) They reported finally, June 7, 1694, a bill to raise a fund, part of which should be expended in purchasing presents for the Indians, but the disposal of it remained in their own hands. (2) As this was considered unsatisfactory, the governor again called the assembly before him and insisted upon more definite action. They contended that their former bill met all requirements and were dissolved. (3) Again in 1795 a demand came from the queen through Fletcher to raise a quota of men. The council considered that they had no power to act in a matter so important. A meeting of the assembly was therefore called. (4) They, however, refused to provide for the raising of the men unless they were granted a charter of liberties, and were thereupon dissolved. (5) In the early years of the next century came further appeals for men, but the assembly consistently declined to furnish them. (6)

As the French peril began to cast its shadow over the province, the contest became more acute. Governor Thomas hurled volumes of argument against the assembly's defensive principles. "I must lament," he said, "the unhappy Circumstances of a Country, populous indeed, extensive in its Trade, bless'd with many natural advantages, and capable of defending itself, but from a religious Principle of its Representatives against bearing Arms, subject to become the Prey of the first Invader, and more particularly of its powerful Neighbors, who are known to be well armed, regular in Discipline, inured to Fatigue, and from thence capable of making long Marches, in Alliance with many

(1) *Col. Rec.*, I, 460, 462.

(2) *Ibid.*, 468. "His Excellie ordered the reading of a bill giving one pennie in the pound.---The Council are of opinion that the sd bill Cannot pass, and that it is no answer to the Queen's Letter, nor does anie thing towards the support of the government."

(3) *Ibid.*, 460, 472.

(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 75.

(5) *Ibid.*, 82. Markham to Assembly: "Gentl., As oft as I press you to ansr the Late Quenn's Letter for the Supplie of New York, your ansr to me is that your privileges ought to be confirmed to you. I never did, nor ever shall endeavor to diminish them. But Gentl., Since there's no Likehood of obtaining from you anie ansr to the Late Quenn's Letter, nor to his Excellie Govr. Fletcher's Demands thereupon, Unless Ile enter upon and grant you a Charter of privileges, I dissolve you, and you are hereby dissolved."

(6) *N. Y. Col Docs.*, V, 71, 78.

Votes of Assembly, II, 34, 36.

Nations of Indians, and of a boundless ambition." (1) He accused them of inconsistency in making a distinction between the execution of a criminal and the killing of a soldier in the defence of a state. "If a Burglar acts contrary to the Laws of Christianity and of the land in breaking open your Houses, and by those Laws you are justified in putting him to Death; and if a soldier acts contrary to the Laws of Christianity (as he does according to your own principles) and the Laws of Nations, in plundering your Houses and murdering your Families, it will be difficult to show why you may not as justly put the latter to Death as the former." (2) He considered, too, that assemblymen should be the watchmen of the whole people, not of a particular religious sect. (3)

The assembly in justification of their conduct urged that they were exempt from military service by a charter of privileges granted to them by the first proprietor and by their own laws; that the colony had existed and prospered without forts or militia; that being a peaceful people, there was no danger of their neighbors molesting them; and that in case of emergency the proprietor was obliged to defend his province. It was found, however, upon examination that they were nowhere exempted by law from military service; and that the proprietor, although his personal interests might be greater, was no more obliged to defend the province at his own expense than the governor of any other colony. (4) The argument that there was no danger from their neighbors reflects once more their misunderstanding of the real situation.

A circular signed by Conrad Weiser was published by order of the proprietors in order to draw the Germans over to their viewpoint. (5) It refuted the idea, instilled by the Quakers, that the proprietors were endeavoring to enslave the inhabitants of their province, and called upon them out of gratitude for the privileges they were enjoying to elect assemblymen who would show their loyalty to the government by a vote of supplies. This was answered by an anonymous writer who disparaged Weiser's statements and accused him of either being deceived or attempting to

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 693.

(2) *Ibid.*, 699.

(3) *Ibid.*, 712. "But as every account from Europe gives us more and more reason to apprehend a general War, you must excuse me if I still consider you as the Representatives and the Watchmen of the whole People of the Province, and not of a particular religious Society,---"

(4) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 273.

(5) *EGLE, Notes and Queries*, 4th ser., I, 33.

deceive his countrymen. Weiser had recently been made justice of the peace. He was now, says, this author, seeking to make his position secure by ingratiating himself with the governor. The chief positive argument was that the encroachments of the proprietors tended to bring upon them the same slavery which they had left their own country to escape. (1) But in spite of all representations the Germans, as well as most of the other citizens, gave their support to the policy of the Quaker representatives by re-electing them to the assembly until the outbreak of war in 1755 brought with it the necessity of more strenuous measures.

When the requisitions upon them to raise men or money became too urgent to be refused, the assembly managed generally to comply with the spirit of the demand without disturbing their consciences. As long as they were required to perform no military service and to grant no money for definite military ends they were satisfied. Since they did not condemn the use of arms in others, they raised no objections to their grants being turned to military ends. Their plan was to throw the responsibility from their own shoulders and let it fall where it would. They granted at various times thousands of pounds "for the king's use" or "for the queen's use" without stating definitely how it should be expended. (2) This, they said, did not concern them. At other times they stated particularly not only how the money should be raised but also how it should be used. (3) In 1745, for example, a grant of four thousand pounds was made for "bread, beef, pork, flower, wheat, or other grain," although it was well known that provisions were plentiful. The words "other grain" were interpreted to mean powder. The assembly made no objection and the money was so expended. (4)

There was sometimes difficulty in raising the money after it had been granted by the assembly. As proof of this we have a message of Governor Charles Gookin to the assembly. "But I must first recommend to you," he wrote, "as I did to the last assembly, that the 2000 Granted for the Queen's use, may be made ready paymt. when Demanded:---for notwithstanding the Powers Given for the Raising that money, 'tis not yet paid in." (5)

The outbreak of the French and Indian War brought to

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., II, 675-679.

(2) *Votes of Assembly*, II, 98.

(3) *Col. Rec.*, I, 361; IV, 366; VI, 133.

(4) FRANKLIN, *Autobiography*, 154.

(5) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., I, 320.

a crisis the struggle between the governor and the assembly. The governor's chief ally was necessity; the assembly's most serviceable weapon was the power of the purse. The latter, to use the words of a contemporary writer, "seem quite intoxicated; are factious, contentious and disregard the Proprietors and their Governors. Nay, they seem even to claim a kind of Independency of their Mother-Country, despising the Orders of the Crown, and refusing to contribute their quota, either to the general Defence of America, or that of their own particular province." (1) Early in the year 1754 Governor Hamilton, having received orders from the king to arm the province, solicited a grant from the assembly to enable him to obey; but after considering the matter for several weeks, they adjourned on the ninth of March without coming to any decision." (2)

After the Virginians had been driven from the Ohio, the governor again called the assembly, pointed out the extreme dangers of the situation, and implored them to enable him to put the province in a condition for defence, promising even to disregard the proprietary instructions against an issue of paper money, providing they would make a generous grant and sink the issue within five years as had been prescribed by Parliament in the case of New England." (3) They then passed a bill granting ten thousand pounds redeemable in twelve years. As he considered five the legal limit, the governor vetoed it. Upon the news of Washington's defeat he again convened the assembly and entreated them to find ways and means consistent with his instructions to repel the enemy. They voted fifteen thousand pounds to be raised as in the former bill. Upon the governor's refusal to sign it they adjourned without voting him any salary. (4)

Governor Hamilton gave up in disgust and was succeeded by Robert Hunter Morris. He informed the assembly that he was subject to the same instructions as his predecessor, but they sent up to him a bill to raise twenty thousand pounds by an issue of paper money to extend for the same length of time. (5) The grants seemed to become more generous as the governor's veto became more sure.

In August a petition from a great number of frontier

(1) SMITH, *Brief State*, 10.

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., II, 261.

(3) SMITH, *Brief State*, 18.

(4) *Ibid.*, 20.

(5) *Ibid.*, 22.

inhabitants was presented to the assembly, praying that they might be furnished with arms and ammunition. It was not granted. The friendly Indians sent a request to the governor begging that he should direct the building of a stockade in which they might defend themselves from the incursions of the enemy; but the assembly refused to grant any money for the purpose, and advised the Indians that if they were afraid, they might move down into the settled part of the province. (1)

The same procrastinating policy was pursued during the early months of 1755. In January the assembly proposed to adjourn until May without making any provisions for the defence of the province or granting the supplies which had been requested by the governor. The governor objected to the adjournment and insisted that they should continue in session until they had provided some effective plan for defence, (2) but it was nevertheless made. But in the spring of this year a new influence was brought to bear upon them. The governor convened the assembly on March 17 and laid before them a letter from General Braddock. The following account of its reception was written by Edward Shippen to his father two days later: "The Governor has laid before the Assembly a most alarming letter from General Braddock, which charges them in strong terms with faction and disaffection, and assures them, that, as the assigning quarters for the army is his province, he shall take due care to burden those colonies the most, that show the least loyalty to his Majesty; and lets them know that he is determined to obtain, by unpleasant methods, what it is their duty to contribute with the utmost cheerfulness. The Assembly know not how to stomach this military address, but 'tis thought it will frighten them into some reasonable measures." (3) Provision was immediately made, as he demanded, for the establishment of a post to Winchester and the opening of a road westward from Carlisle to the Youghiogeny. It was also voted to raise Pennsylvania's portion of the general fund. No troops, however, were raised by the province.

During the alarm after the defeat of General Braddock the Assembly talked of contributing largely but delayed as long as possible. A bill was finally passed to raise fifty thousand pounds but a clause was attached to tax the unprofitable proprietary lands, which made it necessary for

(1) SMITH, *Brief State*, 23.

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., II, 335.

(3) BALCH, *Letters and Papers*, 35.

the governor to veto it. (1) On the question of raising a militia they would take no action. (2) A later bill was sent up granting sixty thousand pounds to the king's use, and including all the amendments formerly made by the governor, except that the taxation of the proprietary estates was to be submitted to royal determination. (3) This, too, was vetoed by the governor as he considered that he had no power to pass any bill which did not definitely exclude such taxation. At this point certain gentlemen of Philadelphia, evidently despairing of a settlement, offered to subscribe five thousand pounds in lieu of the proprietary share of the tax in question, upon the presumption that the proprietors would honorably reimburse them. (4) There was no need, however, to take the risk. The proprietors offered five thousand pounds to be used in the defence of the province. (5) In consideration of this gift the proprietary estates were exempted in a new bill, which became a law, granting fifty-five thousand pounds for the king's use. (6)

According to this law the money raised was to be placed in the hands of a committee of the Assembly to be used by them "for supplying Friendly Indians, holding Treaties, relieving distressed settlers who have been driven from their Lands, and other purposes for the King's use." Nothing was said about military service, although the words *other purposes* could be given such an interpretation. Some, considering the principles of the committee, had little anticipation that they would be given such a meaning; (7) but Benjamin Franklin, who was one of the members and who probably knew better than any other the real inclination of his colleagues, was more hopeful. Eight days after the passage of the law he wrote to William Parsons, saying that the money was to be used chiefly for the defence of the province, and stating that orders had already been issued to raise three hundred rangers and erect block houses along the frontier. (8)

The Quaker's opposition to the use of arms and the taxation of the proprietary estates were, however, not the only points of contention between the governor and the Assem-

(1) *Col. Rec.*, VI, 599.

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., II, 493.

(3) *True and Impartial State*, 139.

(4) FRANKLIN, *Review*, 254.

(5) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 582.

(6) *Statutes at Large*, V, 201-212.

(7) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 274.

(8) FRANKLIN, *Works*, II, 427.

bly. The latter feared that the proprietors were attempting to introduce a system of despotism and slavery, and to augment their own powers at the expense of the peoples liberties. (1) A general militia law would, they thought, materially strengthen this power by creating a host of officers dependent upon the proprietors alone. (2) It could have in Pennsylvania only the same centralizing effect which such laws had shown in Europe. The assemblymen conscientiously felt that if they submitted to the amendments of the governor, they would be guilty of a breach of trust in surrendering up the rights of the people whom they had been chosen to represent.

The governor on the other hand considered that the assemblymen were striving to promote their schemes of independence by grasping at the disposition of all public money. (3) He was charged by the partisans of the Assembly with inciting the people to come down to the city in multitudes to coerce them into compliance with his plans. (4) Whether the governor was guilty of instigation or not, popular influence was brought to bear upon the Assembly. In November, 1755, a remonstrance was presented to them by the mayor, aldermen, and common council of Philadelphia calling their attention to the importance and urgency of the problem which they were facing, and insisting that all disputes should be laid aside until the defence of the province had been provided for. "You were," ran the remonstrance in part, "lately called together upon more urgent Business than ever came before an Assembly of this province, and while you have been sitting, scarce a day has passed wherein you have not heard of the inhuman Slaughter of our Fellow Subjects, & been loudly called upon for that protection, which by the most sacred Ties you owe to the People. On such an Emergency we imagined you had an easy and expeditious mode of procedure before you,

(1) *True and Impartial State*, 37.

(2) *Ibid*, 56. A general Militia Law---would naturally produce this long train of ruinous Effects; an infinite Number of new Relations, Dependences, &c. would be created, all under the Control, and subject to the Dominion of our Proprietaries, and their Governors; on them would the Officers of the Militia alone be dependent, being commissioned by them, and liable to be turned out at their pleasure; the common Men would be influenced by their Officers, and directed by them in their Choice of Representatives; so that, not only the Quakers, but every man who had the Virtue and Spirit to oppose such arbitrary and unjust Proceedings, would be utterly excluded from that important Trust."

(3) *Ibid*, 114.

(4) *Ibid*, 142.

namely, to postpone all Disputes to a more seasonable time, to grant the necessary Supplies on such Terms as those on which the rest of his Majesty's Colonies have granted large sums for the like purposes; and lastly to pass a reasonable Law in order to collect and regulate the Force of the Province for repelling the cruel Invasion. Nevertheless, while you have been deliberating, much innocent Blood has been spilt, a great deal of our country laid waste, the miserable Inhabitants scatter'd abroad before the savage Spoiler." (1)

There were for a time constant reports that mobs of frontier inhabitants were preparing to come to Philadelphia to force the government to provide efficient means for defence. (2) The mobs, however, failed to come in any great numbers, and the few who did come proved harmless. (3) The governor, evidently desiring to bring the Assembly into closer touch with actual frontier conditions or probably under the influence of mob domination, advised with his council in 1756 whether he should call them to meet at Lancaster. (4) The council advised that the meeting should be called for Philadelphia. The writ was, therefore, issued to meet in this city.

The argument had been occasionally advanced that those who had scruples against the use of arms should in times of public danger decline to act as assemblymen. (5) This was consistent with the Quaker's policy of shifting the burden of defence from his own shoulders and letting it fall where it would. Acting therefore, in accordance with the request of the ministry the Quakers in 1756 did not offer themselves as candidates, and the four who were nevertheless elected asked to be relieved from the responsibility of

(1) *Col. Rec.*, VI, 734.

(2) *Ibid*, VI, 729. Minutes of Council. "A Letter from Colonel William Moore, dated yesterday, to the Governor advising him of 2000 Inhabitants preparing to come to Philadelphia from Chester County, to compel the Governor and Assembly to agree to pass Laws to defend the Country and oppose the Enemy, was read."

See also a letter from the assembly to the governor and containing the same facts in vol. VII, page 91.

(3) *True and Impartial State*, 142.

(4) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 96.

(5) *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, VI, 410. James Logan to the Yearly Meeting: "It is therefore proposed to the serious and most weighty Consideration of this Meeting, Whether it may not, at this Time, be advisable, that all such who for Conscience sake cannot join in any Law for Self-Defence, should not only decline standing Candidates at the ensuing Election for Representatives themselves, but also advise all others who are equally scrupulous, to do the same.

service. (1) Their request was granted, their seats declared vacant, and they themselves disabled from sitting or serving in the Assembly for the ensuing year.

Even before the resignation of the Quakers a makeshift militia bill had been passed. During the Indian incursion of the summer and autumn of 1755 petitions came from all parts of the province, interior as well as frontier, stating that the people would concur in taking measures for the defence of the province. (2) The Assembly's bill, which will be treated more fully in the section devoted to the militia, seemed to be calculated rather to exempt persons from military service than to encourage them in it. The whole was purely voluntary. There was no method of compelling those principled against fighting to find substitutes. (3) The governor, contrary to expectation, signed the bill in order to show that he was willing to do anything that had the slightest chance to contribute to the defence of the province, (4) and also to show by experience that such laws would do more harm than good. (5)

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- (1) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 626. October 16, 1756: "Understanding that the Ministry have requested the Quakers, who from the first Settlement of this Colony have been the majority of the Assemblies of this Province, to suffer their Seats, during the difficult Situation of the Affairs of the Colonies, to be filled by Members of other Demoninations, in such Manner as to prepare, without any Scruples, all such Laws as may be necessary to be enacted for the Defence of the Province in whatever Manner they may judge best suited to the Circumstances of it; and notwithstanding we think this has been pretty fully complied with at the last Election, yet, at the Request of our Friends, being willing to take off all possible Obligation, we who have (without any Solicitation on our Part) been returned as Representatives in this Assembly, request we may be excused, and suffered to withdraw ourselves, and vacate our Seats in such Manner as may be attended with the least Trouble, and most satisfactory to this honorable House.

Mahlon Kirkbride, Peter Dicks,
William Hoge, Nathaniel Pennock,"

- (2) *Col. Rec.*, VI, 680.
 (3) *Ibid*, VII, 274.
 (4) *Ibid*, VI, 741.
 (5) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 531. Governor Morris to Governor Dinwiddie: "If with this Grant they had made a good Militia Act, I might have done something toward putting the Country into a posture of Defence; but as they offered me a senseless, partial and impracticable Bill, rather than have any more disputes with them, and as it was only to continue in Force till next October, I passed it, that Experience may convince them such Bills will do infinitely more harm than good."

This law having proved satisfactorily its inefficiency, the governor in May, 1756, recommended to the Assembly to form a bill that could be carried into immediate execution and that would enable him to throw the strength of the province into those sections where the danger was most imminent. (1) The law of 1755 was disallowed by the king in council, (2) the chief objection to it being the election of officers by a vote of the soldiers. Pennsylvania was thus left without even the shadow of a legal military establishment. During the next eighteen months the governor appealed constantly for an efficient military bill, (3) but of all those returned to him not one was free from the objections which had caused the disallowance of the former law. A good example of these bills is that which passed the House, March 20, 1757. (4) It provided that the constables should make out a list of the inhabitants of each township, indicating the religion of each. Those religiously opposed to bearing arms were not to be forced; the others were to be formed into companies of sixty each. Each company was then to choose by ballot its own captain, lieutenant, and ensign.

The governor objected to these bills because they did not subject the militia to the proper discipline; because trials by courts martial were not provided; and because the appointment of officers was taken out of the hands of the government. (5) The Assembly on the other hand considered that their bills were reasonable; that subjecting the people to a court martial would be inconsistent with their liberties; and that the appointment of officers was not taken out of the hands of the government, as the governor, according to the later bills, was empowered to appoint one from several whose names had been recommended by the soldiers. (6) They could see in such a law as the governor desired only an attempt to undermine their liberties. (7)

The tension was finally somewhat relieved by the ap-

(1) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 121.

(2) *Statutes at Large*, V, 201.

(3) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 444, 720, 758.

(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., III, 120-136.

(5) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 533, 720.

(6) *Ibid.*, 733.

(7) *Ibid.*, 618. Resolution of Assembly: "That it appears to Us, that the Governor is determined to withhold that Protection from the People of this Province, which a proper Militia might afford them, Unless we will present him such a Bill as will enable certain designing men to subvert the Constitution, and deprive the Inhabitants of every Liberty they think worth enjoying."

pointment of Pitt to the English premiership. His liberal and energetic policy soothed the fears of the Pennsylvanians, and to a great extent obviated the necessity of a military law. To encourage enlistment the Assembly now voted a bounty of five pounds to each able bodied soldier and twenty shillings to the enlisting officer; (1) and recommended to the governor to do every thing in his power to have the forces ready at the time designated by the ministry. Pennsylvania was not provided with a militia law, but hence forth she furnished to the general army with little opposition her quota of men and supplies. (2)

After the French and Indian War the Assembly did not show themselves so strongly opposed to providing for military defence, although they cannot always be complimented for their prompt and efficient action. During Pontiac's War and Dunmore's War they provided for the defence of the

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- (1) *Col. Rec.*, VIII, 53. The Assembly to the Governor: "It is also the Opinion of this House that Five Pounds be given as a Bounty to every able Bodied Man that shall voluntarily enter into the Service of the Province, and Twenty Shillings to the Officer for every Man he shall enlist."
 - (2) During the period of contention between the governor and the assembly a veritable pamphlet war was carried on between the champions of the opposing viewpoints. William Smith in his *Brief View of the Conduct of Pennsylvania*, 1755, and his *Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania* upheld the policy of the governor and proprietors, holding the Quakers and their assembly responsible for the misfortunes which had fallen upon the province; while Cross's *Answer to an invidious pamphlet*, intitled "*A brief state of the province of Pennsylvania*" and the anonymous *True and Impartial state of the province of Pennsylvania* take the side of the assembly. The first of these latter two is an inadequate, unreasonable, vindictive and altogether amusing attack upon Smith's position. It is rather a railleury than an argument, leaving the points made by Smith unanswered. The *True and impartial state of the province of Pennsylvania* is on the other hand more reasonable and presents arguments of some weight in favor of the assembly's position. Benjamin Franklin's *An Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania* is another excellent statement of the assembly's viewpoint. Charles Thompson's *Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest* is a careful study of Indian affairs from 1722 to 1758, in which the author shows how the whites imposed continually upon the Indians, especially in matter of land and trade.

frontier either by arming the settlers themselves (1) or by raising bands of rangers. (2) During the Revolutionary War the control of frontier defence was voluntarily given over to the president and council. (3) Action was often crippled by the lack of funds, but for this the Assembly can no longer be held responsible. After the capture of the government by the revolutionists, they stood necessarily for military defence.

The Indian and Frontier Defence.

Having thus sketched in outline the necessity for defence, the conflicting views of the assembly and the proprietors, and their prolonged quarrel over military grants and laws, I shall now take up in the following sections what is an even more pleasant task, a description of the methods of defence which were put into actual operation.

As has been stated formerly, the Indians during the early years of the province lived on terms of friendship with their English neighbors. When, therefore, the traders began to bring in rumors of danger and the Indians to grow gradually more restless on account of the encroachments of the whites, the great problem was that of maintaining their friendship. If the Indians who lived along the frontier could only be retained as friends, the necessity for defence would, if it did not entirely disappear, at least be greatly minimized.

The methods employed to maintain and, after many tribes had been alienated, to regain their friendship have been treated quite fully in the chapter on Indian Policy. It it, therefore, only necessary to review here some of the most important points. Many thousand pounds were ex-

- (1) *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII, 530. Sir Jeffrey Amherst to the Earl of Egremont: "The Province of Pennsylvania has, on this Occasion Empowered the Governor to raise Seven Hundred Men, but it is only with a view of getting in their Harvest, which entirely frustrates the Public good that might be expected from such a number actually raised; whereas, these in effect are only farmers and reapers, which the Assembly mean by their vote to arm to defend their own fields."
- (2) *Pa. Arch.*, IV, 548. Resolution of Assembly: They authorize the payment of a sum not exceeding two thousand pounds for paying "a number of Rangers lately raised by the Magistrates of Westmoreland County, for the removing the Panic into which the Inhabitants of the sd County have been thrown by the late Indian Disturbances."
- (3) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser. III, 800; 832.
Col. Rec., XIII, 248.

pendent for Indian presents as a voluntary return for services which they had rendered or merely to retain their good will. Agents whose personal influence was strong were sent to treat with them. (1) They were flattered in making treaties of friendship. The name of their "good brother Onas" (2) was conjured for this purpose. Goods were furnished them cheaper than they could be procured from the French. Lands, the purchase of which they considered fraudulent were returned.

If a buffer state of Friendly Indians could be maintained on the frontier, the danger of attacks by the French or hostile Indians would be greatly lessened. But the policy of erecting such a state was not consistently followed. The rapid westward expansion of population and the consequent purchases of land would have prevented its operation except for brief periods of time. In his agreement with the Susquehanna Indians in 1701 Penn insisted that they should allow no tribes of strange Indians to settle upon the western bank of the Susquehanna or along the Potomac and that they should bring no other Indians into any part of the province without his express consent. (3) But there seems to be no indication that such a policy was pursued from that date until the outbreak of the French and Indian War. The Indians were, on the contrary, gradually receding before advancing settlements.

In 1757, however, the policy was again acted upon. The friendly Indians requested lands about Wyoming upon which they might settle and live permanently. The assembly, recognizing the advantage of such a settlement, recommended that the request be granted and that a comfortable place of security be erected for their reception. (4)

- (1) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 137. Governor Hamilton to Assembly; "The Indians of those Parts are not of the most prudent Behavior, and therefore it seems necessary there should be always among them some discreet Person, who by his Influence may be able to regulate their Conduct, and keep them firmly attached to the British Interest;---."
- (2) The Indian word for "pen" by which William Penn was commonly known among them.
- (3) *Col. Rec.*, II, 16.
- (4) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 730. Assembly to Governor: "The securing an Indian Barrier to the Frontiers of this Province is of so much importance to the Safety and Welfare of the People, that we are of Opinion, a Compliance with this Request should not be postponed a Moment longer than is necessary; therefore, we earnestly entreat your Honor, with all Expedition, to proceed to build such a place of Security as shall be agreeable to the Indians; and as many houses as they shall stand in need of at the Place nominated by Teedyuscung, for their comfortable Living and Safety."

The governor, acting in accordance with the assembly's recommendation and the promise made to the Indians at Easton, appointed commissioners for the immediate construction of a stockade and such houses as were necessary for their accommodation. (1)

The Indian was not extensively used in actual warfare. As his acquaintance with the country and his skill in woodcraft made him an excellent scout, he was at times employed in this capacity. (2) The Quakers were, however, naturally opposed to his use, and when wars had finally become serious, most of the Indians were allies of the French. The problem of the English was one of regaining or retaining their friendship (3) rather than of using them against their enemies.

Here duty demands that I deal with a subject which, out of respect for our ancestors, I should prefer to pass in silence. The Indian at times paid dearly for his neutrality. The frontiersmen, frantic with the losses which they had suffered and unable to satisfy their vengeance upon an elusive foe, fell upon and destroyed the neutral Christian tribes which were situated within their lines. The first massacre occurred at Paxton (or Paxtang as it was then spelled) during Pontiac's War and the second at Gnadenhutten, Ohio, in 1782. The latter took place in Ohio, but the perpetrators were chiefly Pennsylvanians. An account of these massacres or an account of the Indian's suffering does not lie within the scope of our present task. But we are somewhat concerned with the attitude of the frontiersman to the subject and to the policy of permitting bodies of neutral Indians to dwell behind the frontier in time of war. The frontiersman looked upon the situation quite differently from the inhabitants of the interior. (4) He could not understand the attitude of a government that would grant neither men nor funds for the protection of its own citizens, yet fostered and protected a band of dangerous Indians. (5) All Indians, whether Christian or

(1) BALCH, *Letters and Papers*, 99.

(2) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 46. Minutes of Council, February 24, 1756; "Two of the Six Nation Indians were sent at the Instance of the Governor up the River Sasquehannah to gain Intelligence of the Motions and Number of the Enemy Indians."

(3) *Ibid.*, 435.

(4) DARLINGTON, *Fort Pitt*, 239.

(5) *Col. Rec.*, IX, 143. Declaration of frontier inhabitants, 1764: "Both money and protection is granted to Indians who were enemies of Bouquet, while at the same time 100s of distressed families were compelled to flee from their homes to starve neglected."

pagan, were, according to their conception, equally treacherous; and to allow bands of them to remain in times of war was simply nursing an adder in the bosom of the province.

(1) The massacres were carried out in cold blood after days of careful consideration.

To inspire the friendly Indians to activity rewards were sometimes offered for enemy prisoners and scalps. This plan was first adopted on the recommendation of the Indian commissioners (2) in 1756 at the same time that war was declared against the Delawares. The rewards were graduated as follows: (3) for male prisoners above ten years of age, \$150; for females and males under ten, \$130; for scalps of males over ten, \$130; for scalps of Indian women, \$50; for the recapture of English prisoners, \$150. Soldiers in the pay of the province could lay claim to one half of the above amounts. The same plan was followed during Pontiac's War. (4) The system was attended by some favorable results, but appealed for the most part to the baser motives. The effect upon the Indians was particularly bad, leading to the murder and scalping of innocent Indians in order to get the reward. (5)

Militia.

Before 1755 the pressure of danger was never sufficiently great to overcome the religious prejudices of the Quakers against the establishment of a militia. But the governors at times were able, acting under their charter authority, to raise a body of men. (6) The majority of the Quakers, as long as service was purely voluntary, remained passive. There was some opposition on the part of the extremists but never enough to interfere seriously with the governor's plans.

(1) *Col. Rec.*, IX, 141. Petition of Inhabitants of Frontiers, February 13, 1764: "We humbly conceive that it is contrary to the maxims of good Policy, and extremely dangerous to our Frontiers, to suffer any Indians, of what tribe so ever, to live within the Inhabited parts of this Province, while we are engaged in an Indian war, as Experience has taught us that they are all perfidious, & their Claim to Freedom & Independency puts it in their power to act as Spies, to entertain and to give intelligence to our Enemies, and to furnish them with Provisions and Warlike Stores."

(2) *Ibid*, VII, 74.

(3) *Ibid*, 88.

Pa. Arch., 1st ser., II, 607, 618, 625.

(4) *Col. Rec.*, IX, 188.

(5) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., III, 199.

(6) *Col. Rec.*, IV, 696; V, 251.

These companies were raised by voluntary associations of citizens. In fact when a militia law was finally passed in 1755, it was professedly nothing more than the legalization of the method which had formerly been followed without the sanction of law. Franklin's Association of 1747 was probably the most successful attempt to raise troops in this manner. (1) By the spring of 1748 almost twenty thousand men had joined the Association and become somewhat adept in the use of arms. (2) The governor, therefore, at the beginning of the French and Indian War naturally followed the same plan. He informed the several counties that if they would enter into associations, form themselves into companies, and recommend proper persons for officers, he would grant them commissions and give them all the encouragement in his power. (3) Many followed his suggestion and thus the foundation for a military establishment was laid.

The act of November 25, 1755, as has just been stated, merely put the stamp of legal approval upon the method of raising troops which was already in common use. The preamble shows its spirit. The Quakers state themselves principled against the use of arms but not opposed to their use by others as the world was then circumstanced. To compel them to enlist would be a breach of privilege, for them to compel others would be inconsistent. But owing to the great number of petitions showing a popular desire for defensive organization they pass an act providing for the better organization of those who are willing and desirous to be united for military purposes. (4)

This act made it lawful for freemen to form themselves into companies "as hitherto they have used in time of war without law;" to choose their own captain, lieutenant, and ensign, and present their names to the governor or to the commander in chief for his approval. The officers of the various companies were empowered to choose and present in the same way the name of a colonel. The officers should

(1) FRANKLIN, *Autobiography*, 141-149.

(2) BALCH, *Letters and Papers*, 15. John Swift to John White, April 12, 1748: "The association for the militia goes on very well here, there are upwards of 8000 men in this city (Philadelphia) that bear arms, and are already become pretty expert in their exercise; and in the province there are near 20,000 associators, and more daily coming in. The platform for a battery is begun by the swamp below the Swedes' church, and we have cannons coming to us from New York. With these we shall be able to make some resistance in case of an attack."

(3) *Col. Rec.*, V. 680.

(4) *Statutes at Large*, V, 197.

then draw up articles of war for the government of the forces. (1) These articles must be read before the companies, and each man, after at least three days consideration, must sign them in the presence of a justice of the peace. No regiment or company could be compelled to go more than three days march beyond the inhabited parts of the province or be detained longer than three weeks in any garrison without a previous engagement signed by each man for that particular service.

The law was wholly inadequate to provide for the defence of the province. It provided that freemen might form themselves into companies and choose their own officers. But neither time nor place was designated; no person was empowered to call them together; there was no method to compel those not principled against the use of arms to enlist or to force others to find a substitute. (2) Beyond the moral obligation which it placed upon the assembly to provide funds for the payment of the troops there was little gained. A number of companies were formed under its sanction, but the process of mobilization was necessarily so slow and the restrictions upon the action of the governor so great that little could be accomplished. (3)

In 1756 there were three battalions engaged in the defence of the frontier. Each consisted of seven companies of infantry and one of cavalry. (4) In 1757 thirteen thou-

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- (1) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 547. Soldiers' Agreement: "We, the Subscribers do hereby engage ourselves to serve as Soldiers in his Majesty's Service, under the command of Captain John Vanetta, for the space of one Month, and whoever of us shall get drunk, desert, or prove cowardly in Time of Action, or disobedient to our Officers, shall forfeit his Pay. This Agreement we make in Consideration of being allowed at the rate of Six Dollars per Month, Wages, one Dollar for the use of a Gun and Blanket, to each Man who shall furnish himself with them, and the Provisions and Rum mentioned in a Paper hereunto annexed."
 - (2) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 274.
 - (3) *Votes of Assembly*, IV, 557.
Col. Rec., VII, 121. Governor to Assembly, May 11, 1756: "The Law for the Better Ordering and Regulating such as are willing and desirous to be united for military purposes, within this Province, has contributed very little toward the Defence of the Frontiers, and as I observed to you when I Passed it, is so Defective in itself, and requires so much Time to carry it into Execution, that Nothing Good is to be expected from it, though many Companies have formed themselves under that Law, yet it is not in my Power to Order any of them to the frontiers, they are, as to that most Martial Service, entirely useless."
 - (4) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., III, 62.

sand men were in the pay of the province; (1) in 1758 twelve thousand seventy-four are reported. (2) These were engaged in garrisoning the forts and ranging the frontiers.

After the first panic and confusion of 1763 had passed away the frontier settlers formed themselves voluntarily into companies (3) and the assembly ordered seven hundred men to be raised for the protection of the frontier during harvest. Most of these were newly raised and undisciplined troops, but working in conjunction with the voluntary companies they were able to gather in the greater part of the harvest. (4)

When the news came from New England in 1775 that the struggle with Great Britain had begun, the inhabitants of western Pennsylvania were involved in difficulties with the Indians and almost on the verge of civil war among themselves over the question of the boundry between Pennsylvania and Virginia. But within four weeks after the Battle of Lexington, meetings were held in Pittsburgh and Hannastown and resolutions unanimously passed indorsing entirely the action of Massachusetts. (5) It was determined to form military associations to oppose by force if necessary the encroachments of a "wicked ministry and a corrupted parliament." (6) A tax of 2s. 6d. per tithable man was also recommended for the purpose of providing the associations with arms and ammunition. A standing committee was appointed to collect, repair, and deliver such arms as could be obtained to the captains of the various companies. (7) The boundry question in the presence of the common danger became a minor issue. Other counties followed the same plan. (8) Thus the problem of organization was met until the state and the confederation were able to take up its solution.

A militia law providing for the enrollment of all males

(1) *Ibid.*, 99.

(2) *Ibid.*, 341.

(3) *Ibid.*, IV, 120, 124.

(4) *Col. Rec.*, IX, 42. Governor Hamilton to Assembly, September 12, 1763: "I have...taken into the Pay of the Province Seven hundred Men...for the defence and protection of our Frontiers ---: And I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that under the aforesaid protection, great part of the Harvest, which is of so much Importance to the back Inhabitants, hath been gathered in, and as well secured as the Season of the Year would admit."

(5) *Olden Time*, I, 571-573.

(6) *Ibid.*, 575.

(7) *Ibid.*, 573.

(8) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., IV, 657.

between the ages of eighteen and fifty-three years passed the state legislature on March 17, 1777. (1) The country was divided into districts, the inhabitants of which should meet and elect their field officers, a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, and a major; subdistricts were erected, each of which should elect captains, lieutenants, and ensigns. The Executive Council, in case of invasion or upon the request of Congress, could call the militia into service. Each enrolled man must serve in his turn or provide a substitute. Service as a substitute did not excuse a man from his own turn.

During the Indian wars of 1791 and 1795 the lieutenants of the frontier counties were authorized in case of actual invasion or imminent danger of invasion to order into service such parts of the militia as the situation seemed to require. (2) In 1793 and again in 1794 three temporary companies of riflemen were also provided to protect the frontiers of Westmoreland, Washington, and Allegheny counties. (3) Each company, according to the law of 1793, consisted of fifty privates, and officers, to continue in service for six months, unless the state of the war made it necessary for the governor to extend their time until the next meeting of the legislature. Captains received twenty-five dollars per month, lieutenants twenty, sergeants eighth, and privates six dollars and sixty cents. The law of 1794 was almost a replica of that of 1793. Each company, however, consisted of sixty-five instead of fifty privates; service was to continue for eight months instead of six; and the wages were slightly higher.

After 1754 a plan of patrolling the frontier was followed whenever danger threatened. Bodies of soldiers were stationed at intervals along the frontier. The main body was kept in garrison at a post near the center of their district. From here bands ranged each morning to the end of the district and back in the afternoon. (4) Signals by which a warning of danger could be spread were agreed upon with the inhabitants. (5) The bands consisted usually of from

(1) *Statutes at Large*, IX, 75-94.

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., IV, 271. Governor Mifflin to Assembly: The military officers of the frontier counties were authorized to call out the militia and instructed "by virtue of the discretionary power which the law creates, to continue the three rifle companies in service, till the opening of the present session."

(3) *Statutes at Large*, XIV, 381; XV, 13.

(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 239.

(5) *Ibid.*, 546.

ten to fifteen men; the posts were situated twelve or fifteen miles apart. (1) At times larger bands were sent to scout beyond the frontier as far as supplies could be provided for them. (2) In 1763 the people about the Great Cove raised money by subscription and employed a scouting party for two months to defend the north and western frontiers of Cumberland County. (3) During Dunmore's War parties were raised to range between Turtle Creek, Bullock Penns, Hannastown, Proctors, and Ligonier. (4) During the Revolution (5) and the later Indian wars (6) the same plan was followed.

The skill in marksmanship which tradition attributes to the frontiersman will not bear the light of careful investigation. Some, particularly among the hunters and traders, were doubtless very expert in the use of the rifle; but as a whole the settlers along the frontier would not appear to much greater advantage than our rural citizens of today. James Young, when on an inspection tour of the western forts in 1756, tested the marksmanship of the soldiers at the various garrisons. (7) At Fort Lebanon only fifteen out of twenty-eight were able to hit within two feet of the center of a target at eighty yards; at the fort above Alleminga not over four in twenty-five could hit a tree at eighty-five yards. James Burd, who inspected the forts in 1758, reports the same conditions as still existing. (8)

The task of recruiting, on account of the attitude taken by the Quakers and many of the Germans, was often tedious and difficult. This fact, as well as the methods sometimes used, is shown by the following extract from a letter written by Joseph Shippen to James Burd, May 31, 1757. "I have found little success, having enlisted as yet but five men. Captain Jameson writes me he has got but six. Captain Hambright has had better success; the day when all the Captains came to town to wait on the governor he enlisted twelve or thirteen of our discharged Dutchmen, by assuring them that they were not to go to Shamokin, nor do any kind of work, but to range and scour the woods continually. This pleased them so much that they have begun

(1) *Ibid.*, 865.

(2) *Ibid.*, 4th ser., II, 626.

(3) *Votes of Assembly*, VI, 296.

(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., IV, 514.

(5) *Col. Rec.*, XI, 750.

(6) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., IV, 693.

(7) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 677.

(8) *Ibid.*, III, 352-357.

endeavoring to persuade all their countrymen they meet with to enlist with Captain Hambright, by which means I believe he has now thirty recruits." (1) Captain Hambright's brother, who was at the same time recruiting at Lancaster, gave each man a dollar and provided him with a pistol.

When General Forbes was raising forces for the expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1752, Provost William Smith at his request wrote and published an address to the colonies calling upon them to raise in defence of their liberties. (2) "Rise then, my countrymen! as you value the blessings you enjoy, and dread the evils that hang over you, rise and show yourselves worthy of the name of Britons! rise to secure to your posterity, peace, freedom, and a pure religion! rise to chastise a perfidious nation for their breach of treaties, their detestible cruelties, and their horrid murders."

The soldiers, as might be expected under such laws as the assembly provided for their regulation, sometimes showed an inclination to disobedience and insubordination. The officer was rather an advisor than a commander. There was no court martial to punish offenders. Public odium was the only penalty. Even this had little weight as the soldier always received the sympathy of the Quakers and German pacifists. To the honor of the soldier it may nevertheless be said that glaring cases of disobedience were very rare. (3)

Neglect of duty was often more serious. The scouting parties sometimes did not go to their destination; (4) some officers failed to send out any scouts at all; others were drunken and totally unfit. Relief was at times refused to

(1) BALCH, *Letters and Papers*, 82.

(2) SMITH, WILLIAM, *Discourses*, App. 21-31.

(3) DODDRIDGE, *Notes*, 110.

(4) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., IV, 727. William Findley to Secretary Dallas, June 18, 1792: "The Neglect and disobedience of the officers and scouting parties has obliged him (Major McCully) to keep two Companies embodied at one station, where he can enforce the execution of his own Orders. It appears that small scouting parties sent out by Guthrie, never went the length of their destination; this is proved beyond dispute by their trail in the weeds. Cooper sent out no scouts nor did any duty, he has turned out worse than my fears."

those in danger. (1) Desertion, too, was common. (2)

Mutiny sometimes broke out among the men. An instance of this took place at Fort Bedford in 1760. (3) The garrison, on account of a report that they were to receive no pay after January 15, refused to do their duty. They rescued one of their leaders who had been imprisoned. The commandant, drawing his sword and threatening to kill any one who resisted, was able to retake the prisoner. By setting before the men their disgraceful behavior, by threats of court martial and forfeiture of pay he finally succeeded in quelling the disturbance and bringing the men back to a sense of their duty. In 1794 the garrison at Fort Le Boeuf almost broke into mutiny upon the imprisonment of some men who had stolen brandy from the warehouse. The ringleader was, however, secured and sent to Fort Pitt for detention. (4) The troops were becoming dissatisfied because the time set by law for obtaining bounty lands had almost elapsed (5) without their being able to locate any on account of Indian opposition.

But in spite of desertion, neglect of duty, and an occasional mutiny we may say that in general the soldier per-

- (1) *Ibid.*, VI, 797. Report of Andrew Ellicott, December 30, 1794: "From some experience of the disutility of our frontier Block House establishments, owing to a general neglect of duty, I would, upon the principles of economy, recommend that they be discontinued. Among the many instances of the inutility of those establishments, I shall take the liberty of relating the following fact: Last June, a party of five Indians attacked three men in a canoe, on the Allegheny River, wounded two, and killed the third. The survivors immediately informed the detachment stationed at a neighboring Block-House of their misfortune; but the commanding officer, instead of sending out a party to oppose the enemy, shut himself up in the building, and stationed a centinal on the top of the house, to give the alarm, should they appear in the neighborhood of the work."
- (2) *Pittsburg Gazette*, June 23, 1788.
Col. Rec., VIII, 225.
- (3) BALCH, *Letters and Papers*, 171.
- (4) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., VI, 771. A letter dated September 3, 1794, from Captain Denny to General Harmar giving a full Description of the mutiny at Fort Le Boeuf.
- (5) *Ibid.*, 775. Andrew Ellicott to Governor Mifflin, September 4, 1794: (The season is now so far advanced that the act of assembly as far as regards bounties may be considered as already expended.) "But this I have carefully concealed from the state troops, two thirds of whom at least came out for the express purpose of making improvements. They are already much discontented, and fear they have been imposed upon; and but few men would have been able to manage them until this period as well as Capt. Denny has done."

formed his duties willingly, arduous though they might be. I can do no better than to quote here the tribute of Captain Walker to his troops. "One third of our men ware Constantly Employed as Guards to the Inhabitants, and, I may Aferm, in Harvest the one half ware Employed the same way, nor can any man in the County say he ever Asked a guard (when he had a Just Occasion) and was denied. Dureing this time the Troops ware not supplied even with Ration Whiskey, allmoste Neaked, for want of Blankets and Cloathes, and yet I have the satisfaction to inform you they done their Duty Cheerfully." (1)

- (1) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., VII, 383. Captain Walker was stationed at Fort Muncy during the Revolution.

THE DEFENCE OF THE FRONTIER.

Frontier Forts.

Before the French and Indian War only one fort had been erected in Pennsylvania which has the slightest claim to be considered of a public character. This is the fort, already mentioned, which was erected below the city of Philadelphia as a protection against pirates. The cost of its erection was defrayed by a public lottery.

In 1750, before the trouble with the French had become acute, the proprietors in a letter to the governor recommended that a small stone fort should be erected on the Ohio, and expressed themselves as willing to donate four hundred pounds toward its erection and one hundred pounds a year for its maintenance. (1) The governor had several private conferences with the speaker and some of the principle members of the house, but found them adverse to the acceptance of the proprietary proposal. And despite the fact that the fort was recommended by the traders and those best versed in frontier affairs, the assembly, relying upon their old method of maintaining peace with the western Indians by means of extensive presents and friendly treatment, refused to sanction its erection. (2) The governor, recognizing its utility, still hoped to gain his end, (3) but the procrastination of the assembly put it off until the occupation of the territory by the French made the project impossible.

But while the Quakers and the Quaker government at Philadelphia, secure in their distance from the frontier, rested upon the defence of justice, it was different with the backwoodsman. He knew the forest and its natives. It was he who suffered from the scalping party. It was his property which was destroyed, his wife who was murdered, and his children who were carried away while the assembly hesitated to act for fear of alienating the affection of the

1. *Col. Rec.*, V, 575.

2. *Ibid.*, 547.

3. *Ibid.*, 522.

Indians. No wonder then that before the procrastinating assembly took up the question the enterprising westerner had often worked out for himself a system of defence.

These defences might be nothing more than a log house, strongly built, with small windows and loopholes flaring on the inside to permit a rifle being pointed in any direction. They might consist of a block house with projecting upper story, or of a group of buildings surrounded by a stockade. These larger works formed the community's center of defence. (1) They were the dwelling places of the inhabitants during times of danger, from which armed parties were sent out to till the fields, (2) each workman with his entire fighting equipment. The weapons were deposited in some central place and a sentinel stationed (3) to give the alarm in case of attack. The whole company could thus be ready for combat on brief notice.

Such forts were seldom attacked by Indians alone and almost never taken. In case of attack each inmate had his assigned post and task. Each man with his rifle and as good a supply of ammunition as could be provided was stationed at a specified loophole. All axes, mattocks, and other such implements were collected within for use in case of a hand to hand encounter. The women saw that all utensils were full of water to quench any fire that might be kindled. (4)

Captain James Patterson, a trader of the Juniata Valley, adopted a very novel means of defence. He constructed a cannon from an oak log and discharged it frequently in the hearing of the Indians, (5) much to their awe and amazement. Once during the absence of her husband Mrs. Patterson frightened off a band of Indians by threatening them with this miniature cannon. He also erected a target, the center of which was shot full of holes, at some distance from his house. Whenever Indians came in sight, he would fire at it. The appearance of the target gave them so high an opinion of his skill that they did not care to trifle with him.

The earliest private fort of which we have any account was that erected upon the present site of Harrisburg. About 1705 John Harris moved westward and established a ferry over the Susquehanna at this point. (6) The place soon became important as a connecting link between Philadelphia

(1) No distinction can be made between the use of the private and the use of the public fort. The one merges into the other.

(2) DODDRIDGE, *Notes*, 95.

(3) *Ibid.*, 100.

(4) *Ibid.*, 222-223.

(5) *Collections of Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, I, 64.

(6) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., XII, 372.

and the Susquehanna settlements. The original settler died in 1748 but his son, John Harris, Jr., continued in the same place, living generally on good terms with the Indians. When hostilities began in 1755, he cut loopholes in his house, provided it with a garrison of six or seven men, and determined to hold out until the last. (1) This for a time was the only place of security in the Susquehanna Valley, (2) but after 1756 it merges in with the system of forts erected by the province.

Another private fort was that erected by Benjamin Chambers on the present site of Chambersburg, Franklin County. (3). The stockade inclosed the flour and saw mills as well as the dwelling house of the proprietor. The house was of stone and two stories in height, the water from the spring running under part of it. The windows were small and particularly adapted to defence; the roof was covered with sheet lead as a protection against fire. Besides small arms, Colonel Chambers had provided himself with two four pound cannon. In this fort the Chambers family dwelt safely throughout the whole period of the Indian wars. It was also a place of refuge for many of their neighbors.

A third important private fort was that erected in 1753 at Aughwick, (4) in what is now Huntington County, by the trader, George Croghan. It was enlarged and stockaded by the government in 1756 and renamed Fort Shirley.

It may seem to be almost a digression, but the construction of the French forts was such an important event in the history of Pennsylvania, in fact of America, that I shall turn to the French viewpoint long enough to describe them briefly. The French in 1750 claimed the entire Mississippi Valley by the right of discovery. From the mouth of the river to the Great Lakes they had stretched a line of forts in witness to their claim. Now, in order to secure also the Valley of the Ohio, they projected a secondary line to the mouth of that river. As far as Fort Duquesne the line was extended: then circumstance interfered, but of that more later.

(1) EGLE, *History of Pennsylvania*, 90. John Harris to the governor, October 29, 1755: "I have this day cut holes in my house, and am determined to hold out to the last extremity if I can get some men to stand by me, few of which I can at present, every one being in fear of their own families being cut off every hour (such is our situation.)"

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 635.

(3) *Ibid.*, XII, 350.

(4) DARLINGTON, *Gist*, 180.

Fort Presqu'Isle, (1) erected in 1753, was the northernmost of the series. It was a square fort built of one thickness of logs. There was neither bank within nor ditch without. Of the two gates, one faced toward Lake Erie, the other toward Fort Le Boeuf. Four cannon were mounted in one of the bastions. The magazine was a store house covered with shingles and not sunk in the ground as was customary. There were barracks within the fort for 150 men.

The next fort to the south was Le Boeuf, situated on French Creek at the head of navigation, distant about thirty miles from Presqu'Isle. George Washington, who visited it in 1753, describes it in journal as follows: "It is situated on the South or West fork of French Creek, near the water, and is almost surrounded by the creek and a small branch of it which forms a kind of island. Four houses compose the sides. The bastions are poles driven into the ground, standing more than twelve feet above it and sharp at top, with port holes cut for cannon, and loop holes for the smaller arms to fire through. There are eight six pound pieces mounted in each bastion, and one piece of four pounds before the gate. In the bastions are a guard house, chapel, doctor's lodging, and the commander's private store: round which are laid platforms for the cannon and men to stand on. There are several barracks within the fort for the soldiers' dwelling, covered with bark and some with boards, made chiefly of logs. There are also several other houses, such as stables, smith's shops, &c. Number of men supposed 200, exclusive of officers, of which (2) there are many."

Fort Venango was the third in the series. This was a small stockade fort built on the Allegheny River at the Mouth of French Creek, and accommodating a captain's command of fifty men. (3) The French intended to build a new and better fort at this place, but it is doubtful whether it was ever done. Samuel Hazard concludes that it was not: yet there are today remains of a second fort below the city of Franklin which seem to be of French origin. (4)

The most important of the series, both on account of the struggles which centered about it, was Fort Duquesne. It was erected by the French in 1754 after they had driven away the Virginians who were attempting to forestall them,

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., III, 13; XII, 444.

Col. Rec., VIII, 312.

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., XII, 387.

(3) *Ibid.*, XII, 463.

(4) DAY, *Hist. Coll.*, 641.

at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, the most strategic point in western Pennsylvania. This was a rectangular fort about fifty yards long and forty yards wide, with bastions at each corner. About one-half was constructed of squared logs and the other half, which was toward the water, of stockades. This part was built of round logs somewhat over a foot in diameter and eleven or twelve feet high, with loop holes made for firing toward the ground. Split logs covered the spaces between each two round ones. Entrenchments about seven feet high were cast up all around the fort at a distance of four rods. These were constructed of wattlework filled in with earth. There were two gates, the one opening inland and the other toward the river. The first was provided with a drawbridge which at night was drawn up by iron chains. The magazine, constructed of large logs and covered four feet thick with clay, was almost entirely underground. There were no cannon except at the bastions, each of which had four. The barracks were outside of the fort; the land about it was solid and dry, but cleared of all trees and stumps for a considerable distance, so that an attacking party would have to expose himself to a direct fire. (1) About two hundred yards from this was a second fort in the shape of a square and much more strongly constructed. (2)

When the news came that the French were building these forts, the East broke into one of its periodic furies of excitement. Then came the defeat of Braddock and the retreat of Dunbar. The frontier, unprepared in spite of many representations of its condition by traders and Indian agents, lay at the mercy of the savages. The inhabitants, undisciplined and many of them unarmed, were compelled to improvise some scanty means of defence or flee from their

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., III, 13.

Ibid., XII, 357. A description by John McKinney who was held as a prisoner in the fort.

(2) *Ibid.*, 427. Extract from a letter from Pittsburg November 26, 1758; "On the 24th, at night, we were informed by one of our Indian scouts that he had discovered a cloud of smoke above the place, and soon after another came with certain intelligence that it was burned and abandoned by the enemy.-----There are two forts about 200 yards distant, the one built with immense labor, small, but a great deal of strong works collected into little room, and stands on the point of a narrow neck of land at the confluence of the two rivers. It is square, and has two ravelins, gabions at each corner, &c. The other fort stands nothing so strong as the other---several of the outworks were on the bank of the Allegheny, in form of a parallelogram, but lately begun, and still unfinished. There are, I think, 30 stacks of chimneys standing, the houses all destroyed."

homes. The assembly hesitated to act, pleading as an excuse that they feared to alienate the affections of the Indians. Very affectionate the red denizens of the forests were proving themselves.

Commissioners were finally appointed to inspect the frontier and recommend means of defence. At first they considered that the best plan would be to carry the war into the enemy's country; but on the representations of Croghan and others better acquainted with Indian affairs, they adopted a plan of defensive operations and recommended a line of forts along the frontier. (1) Construction was begun immediately.

The forts east of the Susquehanna were erected along the line of the Blue Hills: west of that river they formed a semicircle stretching from Sunbury to the Great Cove. They were built at the principle passes through the mountains and each was garrisoned by from twenty to one hundred troops according to the importance of the place and the number of troops at the disposal of the government. (2)

East of the Susquehanna the forts were from ten to twelve miles apart. (3) The three most important were Forts Allen, Lebanon, and Henry. The easternmost, Fort Allen, was situated on the west branch of the Delaware, near the Moravian town of Gnadenhutten. Fort Lebanon was at the forks of the Schuylkill and Fort Henry, which was the most important of them all, was situated at a pass called Talihiaw further to the west. The spaces between these three were filled up by block houses and smaller stockades. The garrisons consisted of from twenty to fifty men who employed themselves in ranging the woods between the posts. The chain of forts ran at times on the south side of

(1) *Col. Rec.*, VII, 153. Commissioners to Governor, read in Council June 14, 1756: "When the Indians first began to Infest our Frontiers, the Commissioners were of opinion that the best means of Securing our Inhabitants was to carry the war into the Enemy's Country and hunt them in all their Fishing, Hunting, Planting, & dwelling places: But having sent for Croghan & others in order to obtain their opinion and they advising that by a chain of forts the Frontier should first be in some degree secured before we acted offensively, the same was agreed to---the Building of Forts immediately set about, which took up more time than was expected.

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., III, 340.

(3) *Ibid.*, II, 565.

(4) *Report of Commission on Frontier Forts*, I, 70. "It was the most important fort between the Susquehanna and Lehigh Rivers, owing to the fact that it was about equally distant from each, and also because it was on the main road to Shamokin and protected the most populous portion of the entire region."

the mountains, at times on the north. Both sides were occupied if it seemed to be necessary. They were sometimes merely the reconstructed defences of the settlers. This is particularly true of the smaller posts. (1) A stockade thrown about a convenient farmhouse and garrisoned by a few soldiers was sufficient.

The Moravians seated within the forks of the Delaware were obliged for the safety of themselves and their neighbors, many of whom had fled to them, to fortify their settlement with stockades and set military watches. Wishing to continue the same until the danger was over, they applied to the governor for a commission. This was duly granted them giving full power and authority to take and use arms against any Indians or other enemies of the province. (2)

The chief forts west of the Susquehanna were Lyttleton, Shirley, Granville, and Pomfret Castle, (3) erected about twenty miles apart. The first mentioned was situated on the new road which was being laid out to the Ohio at a distance of about twenty miles from the settlements. Twenty miles north of Lyttleton was Fort Shirley on Aughwick Creek, somewhat larger than the former and situated on the old traders' path to the Ohio. Next in order was Fort Granville, fifteen miles northeast of Fort Shirley at a narrow pass where the Juniata breaks through the mountains. The northernmost of the four was Pomfret Castle, situated fifteen miles from Fort Granville and twelve west of the Susquehanna River. The spaces between these were filled in with smaller forts in the same manner as east of the Susquehanna.

The building of these forts soon used up the sixty thousand pounds which had been appropriated, and more was required for the adequate defence of the province. (4) Yet the assembly carefully guarded each succeeding outlay. They, however, supplied from time to time enough money to guard the frontier in a semi-efficient way (5) and lend some assistance in driving the French from the western part of the province.

Fort Augusta, another important post, was built at the

(1) *Ibid*, I, 4.

(2) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., II, 704.

(3) *Ibid*, 1st ser., II, 569.

(4) *Ibid*, 557, 565.

(5) *Ibid*, III, 101.

forks of the Susquehanna in the summer of 1756. (1) It was erected primarily to protect the inhabitants about Sunbury and serve as a connecting link between the eastern and western lines. It was here that the friendly Indians had requested the building of a fort, about which they promised to gather and assist in the protection of the frontier or in any other operations that might be made against the French.

When the Revolutionary War began and the Indians, incensed by the encroachment on their lands, embraced the English cause, one of the first districts to suffer from their depredations was that inhabited by the Scotch Irish on the west branch of the Susquehanna. These energetic frontiersmen, with the love of liberty instilled into their systems by life on the frontier, had eagerly taken up arms in the cause of independence; and although their families were often poorly provided with the necessities of life and exposed to the mercy of the savages, they had departed for Boston in order to take part in active service. In order to protect their families, a stockade was erected at each important settlement along the river. Some were provided with troops, others were defended by the settlers of the neighborhood. (2) Fort Muncy, erected at the bend of the west branch, was the most important; while Fort Augusta acted as a rear post and distributing point for troops and supplies. It was to this fort that the settlers retreated when they had been driven out of the others.

Of the early western forts Ligonier and Pitt were the most important. The first of these was erected by General Forbes during his expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1758. (3) During Pontiac's War, in spite of its dilapidated condition, it was one of the few spots which did not fall into

(1) DARLINGTON, *Fort Pitt*, 146. Bouquet to Major Gladwin, August 1756: "I also propose to Build a fort at Shamokin, at the forks of Susquehanna, as soon as the season will admit a passage up the river, for the mountains north of the Kitectiny are quite impassible for carriages. This is what our friendly Indians request'd of me at the late interview, and say they will collect themselves together under the protection of such a fort, and readily assist us in the defence of our frontier, or in any attempt that we shall make upon the French encroachments."

(2) DAY, *Hist. Coll.*, 451.

(3) *Olden Time*, reprinting Arthur Lee's *Journal*, II, 335.

the hands of the Indians. (1) In the Revolution it figured as a place of refuge for the settlers. (2) The Indians, however, passed it and murdered many of the inhabitants further eastward.

On account of the important place which Fort Pitt occupies in the history of Western Pennsylvania I shall relate its history with somewhat greater detail. As has already been pointed out, the proprietors in 1750 recommended that a small stone fort should be erected on the Ohio, and expressed themselves as willing to aid in its maintenance. (3) In April, 1751, George Croghan was sent with a present to the Ohio Indians. One of his speeches, prepared by Weiser, recommended the building of a fort on the Ohio. (4) This was, however, considered too strongly expressed and he was given private instructions by the governor not to make it but to sound the Indians on the point. (5) He obeyed orders and such Indians as he approached on the subject informed him that the building of a fort had been agreed upon between themselves and the Onondaga Council. They requested publicly the building of such a fort at the forks

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- (1) DARLINGTON, *Fort Pitt*, 146. Bouquet to Major Gladwin, August 28, 1763: "Ligonier, a post of great consequence to us, was defended with a handful of men by Lieut. Blane, and Capt. Ecuyer baffled all their efforts here (Fort Pitt), though the fort was open on three sides; the floods having undermined the sodwork, the rampart had tumbled in the ditch. He palisaded and fraised the whole, raised the parapet all around, and in a short time with a small garrison he has made it impregnable for savages."
 - (2) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., VII, 345.
 - (3) *Col. Rec.*, V, 515. Extract from letter of proprietors: "I think an House with thick walls of Stone with small Bastions might be built at no very great Expense, as it is little matter how rough it is within side; or a wall of that sort perhaps fifty feet square, with a small house in the middle of it, might perhaps do better. The command of this might be given to the principle Indian trader, and he be obliged to keep Four or Six men at it who might serve him in it and the House to be his Magazine for Goods. If something of this sort can be done we shall be willing to be at the expense of four hundred Pounds Currency for the building of it, and one hundred Pounds a Year for keeping some men with a few Arms and some Powder."
 - (4) *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII, 268
 - (5) *Col. Rec.*, V, 522.

of the Ohio to protect them and the English traders. (1) Croghan reported these facts but the government refused to accept the Indians' proposal and condemned Croghan for making such a report. (2) They argued that it was not the intention of the Indians but that they had been imposed upon. How far private interests could influence Croghan to draw the Indians in an underhanded manner to his viewpoint can not be determined. The erection of such a fort would certainly have been a great advantage to him as a trader. Both the government and Weiser denied that he had any authority to treat with the Indians on the subject. (3) Croghan maintained that he had such instructions. The Colonial Records support him. (4) The fact that the Indians constantly repeated their request for the building of the fort is another strong argument against the charge that he had seduced them. (5)

The proprietors, convinced that the assembly would never do anything in the matter, instructed Governor Hamilton to assist the Governor of Virginia to erect a fort there, but under protest that such a settlement would not prejudice Pennsylvania's right to the territory. (6) On July 1, 1754, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia wrote to Governor Hamilton strongly urging the erection of a fort beyond the Alleghenies, stating that he had a force ready to cross the

- (1) THWAITES, *Early Western Travels*, I, 54. George Croghan to the governor, December 16, 1750: "We have seen but very few of the chiefs of the Indians they being all out a hunting, but those we have seen are of opinion that their Brothers the English ought to have a Fort on this River to secure the Trade, for they think it will be dangerous for the Traders to travel the Roads for fear of being surprised by some of the French and French Indians, as they expect nothing else but a war with the French next Spring."
- (2) *Col. Rec.*, V, 547. Assembly to Governor, August 21, 1751: "The Information of Conrad Weiser and Alexander Montour on their arrival in Town since the Governor's Message of the thirteenth Instant, we suppose have given the Governor as well as the House Reason to believe that the Request inserted in George Croghan's Journal which the Governor was pleased to lay before the House, as made by the Indians at Ohio to this Government, to erect a strong Trading House in their Country as well as the danger 'tis there said they apprehend from the Attempts of the French, have been misunderstood, or misrepresented by the Person in whom the Government confided for the Management of the Treaty."
- (3) *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII, 268.
- (4) *Col. Rec.*, V, 522, 529, 537, 547.
- (5) *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII, 269.
- (6) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., II, 265.

mountains, and inviting the cooperation of Pennsylvania. (1) Governor Hamilton urged that Governor Dinwiddie should be supported, but the assembly evaded the subject and adjourned leaving the Virginians to fight their battles alone.

The force from Virginia proceeded to the forks of the Ohio and were engaged in the erection of a stockade when they were driven off by the appearance of a French force under Contracoeur, who then erected Fort Duquesne at this point. The Virginians retreated to a place between Chestnut and Laurel Ridges, called the Great Meadows, and there erected Fort Necessity, a log breast work one hundred feet each way and partly surrounded by a shallow ditch. (2) From this they marched out to dislodge the French, but were driven back, themselves besieged, and forced to capitulate. The French, allowing the Virginians to retire and having demolished the fort, then returned to Fort Duquesne. (3)

Braddock's expedition in 1755 and its results are too well known to require any comment. General Shirley suggested that a second attempt to take the fort should be made this same year, but it was necessary to postpone it, among other reasons, on account of the backwardness of the Pennsylvania Assembly. (4) By February, 1756, however, the assembly had assumed such an attitude that Governor Morris thought that they would willingly take part in an expedition against Fort Duquesne if the northern colonies would provide entirely for the Crown Point project. (5) Gen-

- (1) *Col. Rec.*, VI, 137. Governor Dinwiddie to Governor Hamilton, July 31, 1754: "I think the sooner we endeavor to make a Settlement and build a Fort the other side of the Allegheny Mountains the better, for if we allow them a quiet Settlement their numbers will greatly increase in the Spring. We have now three months fit for marching and action. I would fain hope our Force will be at Mills Creek before the twentieth of the month, and shall be glad if reinforced from your Colony: if you send some Companies they may safely march after our Forces over the Mountains."
- (2) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., XII, 420.
- (3) *Col. Rec.*, VI, 50.
- (4) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 300. Governor Morris to Governor Dinwiddie, August 10, 1755: "I rec'd letters last night by Express from General Shirley, acquainting me that he had been informed that this Province, Virginia & Maryland, had given considerably towards another expedition, he thought proper to send orders to be forwarded to Col. Dunbar, to make a second attempt upon Fort Duquesne, but I am of Opinion this cannot be put in practice before next Year, from the backwardness of my assemblies in particular to do what is so Strongly in their Interest to Comply with."
- (5) *Ibid.*, 570.

eral Shirley, however, had now come to the conclusion that the reduction of Niagara and the other northern forts was more important than that of Duquesne: for if the English should get control of the Great Lakes, the southern forts would be cut off and forced to capitulate. (1) The emphasis was for some time put on the northern war, and it was not until 1758 that a second expedition set out against Fort Duquesne. The French, upon the approach of the English, destroyed their works and fled.

Near the ruins of Fort Duquesne an English Fort was then erected and named Fort Pitt in honor of the great English premier. It was surrounded by a rampart of earth, which on the two inland sides was supported by a wall nearly perpendicular, so that it presented an almost impregnable obstacle to any enemy that was likely to be encountered in those parts. On the other sides the rampart was only an incline of earth with a row of pickets about its base. Around the whole was a wide ditch which could be filled with water from the river. (2) It was garrisoned by some three hundred provincials, one half of whom were Pennsylvanians and the other half Virginians. (3)

All was quiet on the Ohio until 1763. Then, after faint mutterings of danger, the storm of Pontiac's War swept down upon the fort. It was suddenly besieged by over four hundred Indians. Captain Ecuyer, taking warning from the vague rumors, was not entirely unprepared. (5) His garrison consisted of 250 men, half regulars and half militia, in good spirits and determined to succeed. The fort was provided with sixteen cannon. Rations were low; so as many cattle as possible were collected about the fort to serve as food and prevent their falling into the enemy's

(1) *Ibid*, 572.

(2) *Olden Time*, I, 196.

(3) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., III, 693. General Stanwix to Governor Hamilton: "The works are carried on to that degree of defence which was at first prepared for this year, so that I am now by degrees forming a winter garrison, which is to consist of 300 provincials."

(4) DARLINGTON, *Fort Pitt*, 145.

(5) *Ibid*, 186. Captain Ecuyer to Colonel Bouquet, May 3, 1763, "I fear that the affair is general. I tremble for our posts. I fear according to the reports that I am surrounded by Indians. I neglect nothing to receive them well, and I expect to be attacked tomorrow morning. God wills it, I am passably ready."

hands. (1) We are apt to be amused as we read of Captain Ecuyer's attempt to catch Indians in beaver traps, (2) but his ingenuity and determination, together with the good will and faithfulness of his command, held the fort until it could be relieved by Colonel Bouquet.

Soon after this war the English ministry began to act upon the assumption that the colonies should protect their own frontiers. Lord Hillsborough recommended that Fort Pitt, with some others, should be left to the colonies to garrison if they considered it necessary. (3) In October, 1772, the fort was abandoned by the English and the material in it sold to Alexander Ross and William Thompson for fifty pounds. (4) The inhabitants, alarmed at the abandonment, requested the retention of a small garrison, but General Gage refused to comply. They then petitioned the assembly that, as evacuation would surely retard settlement, a garrison should be provided (5) for this post, but the assembly refused (6) to act. The fort, however, was not destroyed. It was retained by the purchasers until in 1774 it was seized by Doctor John Connelly who, (7) acting under instructions from Governor Dunmore of Virginia, planned to control the frontier. As he was soon arrested and imprisoned, (8) the fort fell again into the hands of the Pennsylvanians. Throughout the Revolution it was held by the Americans.

- (1) *Ibid*, 128. Captain Ecuyer to Colonel Bouquet, June 2, 1763: "My garrison consists in all of 250 men, as many regulars as militia all very determined to conquer or die, our men are high spirited and I am glad to see their good will and with what celerity they work. I have little flour, the inhabitants receive half rations of bread and a little more meat, to the poorer women and children a little Indian corn and some meat. I manage as well as I can. I have collected all the animals of the inhabitants and placed them under our eye. We kill to spare our provisions, for the last resource and in order that the savages shall not profit by our animals.---- I have distributed tomahawks to the inhabitants; I have also gathered up all their beaver traps which are arranged along the rampart that is not finished."
- (2) *Ibid*, 131. Captain Ecuyer to Colonel Bouquet, June 16, 1763: "I have collected all the beaver traps which could be found with our merchants and they were placed in the evening outside the palisades. I would be pleased to send you one with the leg of a savage, but they have not given me this satisfaction."
- (3) FRANKLIN, *Works*, IV, 128.
- (4) *Olden Time*, II, 95.
- (5) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., III, 573.
- (6) *Col. Rec.*, X, 71.
- (7) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., IV, 477, 478, 484, etc.
- (8) *Col. Rec.*, XI, 196.

A plot by some Tories to destroy it in 1778 was detected and the leaders were punished. (1) Supplies were scarce. (2) The problem of securing food and clothing appears to have been much more difficult than that of defending the inhabitants.

After the Revolution, the fort, on account of decreasing dangers, lost its importance until in 1791 another Indian war began. A new fort, called Fort Fayette, was now erected. It stood on the bank of the Allegheny about a quarter of a mile further up than the old one, and consisted of a stockade with barracks and a block house in one of the angles. (3) Even after 1800 a small garrison was maintained (4) here.

Soon after evacuating Fort Duquesne in 1758 the French also withdrew their forces from Venango, Le Boeuf, and Presqu'Isle in order to strengthen Niagara which was being vigorously attacked by Sir William Johnson. The English were thus left in full possession of western Pennsylvania. The forts in the northwest were garrisoned and held until their destruction by the Indians in 1763. Forts Ligonier and Bedford were also for many years important in keeping open the road to the west. During the Revolution a number of new forts were erected in the West, grouped about Pittsburgh as a base. The most important were Fort Armstrong at Kittanning (5) and Fort McIntosh at

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., VI, 507.

(2) *Olden Time*, II, 378. Daniel Broadhead to Richard Peters, December 7, 1780: "Indeed, I am so well convinced that the inhabitants on this side the mountains cannot furnish half enough meat to supply the troops, that I have risked the sending a party of hunters to kill buffalo at little Canhawa, and to lay in the meat until I can detach a party to bring it in, which cannot be done before spring."

Ibid., 382. A letter from Daniel Broadhead to Joseph Reed complaining of the lack of clothing for the soldiers.

(3) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., XII, 437.

Pittsburg Gazette, May 19, 1792: "The fort began last winter at this place, stands on the Allegheny River within about 100 yards of the bank, on a beautiful rising ground, about one-quarter of a mile higher up than the old garrison of Fort Pitt. It is completely stockaded in, and one range of barracks built, a block house in one of the angles finished, and the remainder in forwardness."

(4) MICHAUX, *Travels*, 72.

(5) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., VIII, 38.

the mouth of the Beaver River. (1)

The construction of forts did not stop with the Revolution. A new one was erected at Venango in 1787, (2) about one mile above the mouth of French Creek. (3) It was a small fort armed with one cannon and garrisoned with one company. A third fort (4) was erected here in 1795 during the process of settling the northwestern part of the state. (5) At the same time Fort Le Boeuf was rebuilt, (6) and two companies raised to garrison it. (7) In 1794 an attempt was made to settle Presqu' Isle but it was prevented by the opposition of the Indians, instigated probably by the British. (8) During the next year, however, two block houses were erected to protect a small garrison established to protect the surveyors who were engaged in laying out the lands.

Doddridge gives us an excellent description of one of these frontier forts. "The reader will understand by this term, not only a place of defence, but the residence of a small

- (1) *Ibid*, 32. General McIntosh to E. V. P. Bryan, December 20, 1778: "I erected a good strong Fort for the Reception and Security of Prisoners and stores, upon the Indian side of the Ohio below Beaver Creek with Barracks for a Regiment; and another on the Muskingum, which I expect will keep the savages in awe, and secure the peace of the frontiers effectually in this quarter hereafter if they are well supported and also facilitate any future enterprises that may be attempted that way."
- (2) *Pittsburg Gazette*, November 22, 1788: "Fort Franklin—off French Creek, near to the post formerly called Venango, is a small, strong fort, with one cannon, was erected in 1787, and is garrisoned with one company. This post was established for the purpose of defending the frontiers of Pennsylvania, which are exposed by the facility by which the Indians can cross from Lake Erie, either to French Creek or the Judaggue lake and the Coneawango branch, and thence descend the rapid river Allegheny."
- (3) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., VI, 795.
- (4) Or fourth if there were two French forts at this place.
- (5) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., XII, 463.
- (6) *Ibid*, 2nd ser., VI, 739. Major Denny to Governor Mifflin; July 4, 1794: "Sir: I had the honor of addressing you last on the 20th ult., since which we have been busily employed in erecting a stockade fort, the plan of which will be sent you by the next conveyance. We are now beyond the power of any body of hostile Indians that may attempt to strike us, and every day we will be getting stronger,, provided we can keep our men together."
- (7) *Ibid*, VI, 783, 806.
- (8) *Pittsburg Gazette*, August 16, 1794, quoting a letter from Le Boeuf: "_____ once a week we have people at Presq' Isle, and the British watch the place as close as we do; and some mornings when we discharge our cannon they return the fire from their vessel, which we distinctly hear."

number of families belonging to the same neighborhood. As the Indian mode of warfare was an indiscriminate slaughter of all ages, and both sexes, it was as requisite to provide for the safety of the women and children as for that of the men.

"The fort consisted of cabins, block houses, and stockades. A range of cabins commonly formed one side at least of the fort. Divisions, or partitions of logs, separated the cabins from each other. The walls on the outside were ten or twelve feet high, the slopes of the roof being turned wholly inward. A very few of these cabins had puncheon floors, the greater part were earthen. The block houses were built at the angles of the fort. They projected about two feet beyond the outer walls of the cabins and stockades. Their upper stores were about eighteen inches every way larger in dimension than the under one, leaving an opening at the commencement of the second story to prevent the enemy from making lodgment under their walls. In some forts, instead of block houses, the angles of the fort were furnished with bastions. A large folding gate made of thick slabs, nearest the spring, closed the fort. The stockades, bastions, cabins and block house walls, were furnished with port holes at proper heights and distances. The whole of the outside was made completely bullet proof. It may be truly said that necessity is the mother of invention; for the whole of this work was made without the aid of a single nail or spike of iron; and for this reason, such things were not to be had. In some cases, less exposed, a single block house, with a cabin or two, constituted the whole fort. Such places of refuge may appear very trifling to those who have been in the habit of seeing the formidable military garrisons of Europe and America; but they answered the purpose, as the Indians had no artillery. They seldom attacked, and scarcely ever took one of them." (1)

In June, 1756, James Young inspected the eastern forts and made a return of their condition to the government. (2) He reports that the fort at Northkill was "intended for a square abt. 32 ft. Each way, at Each Corner is a half Bastion, of very little Service to Flank the Curtains, the Stockades are very ill fixed in the Ground, and open in many Places; within is a very bad Log house for the People, it has no chimney, and can afford but little shelter in bad weather." Only nine of the fourteen men were found on

(1) DAY, *Hist. Coll.*, 661. Reprinting Doddridge's Notes.

(2) *Pu. Arch.*, 1st ser., II, 675-681.

duty; and the woods were not cleared away above forty yards from the fort. Provisions consisted of flour and rum for four weeks; military supplies amounted to eight muskets, four rounds of powder and lead per man, fifteen blankets, and three axes.

Fort Lebanon, at a more important point, was reported in much better condition, well stockaded, with good bastions and one wall piece. Within was a strong house and two other houses built by the country people who had taken refuge there. Munitions consisted of twenty-eight good muskets, forty blankets, one axe, and one wall piece. There was food sufficient for a month.

The fort above Alleminga, another of the less important points, was found in bad condition, poorly stockaded and totally unfit for defence. Munitions, however, were quite plentiful; there were twenty-eight good muskets and twelve rounds of ammunition per man. Fort Allen on the other hand was well stockaded, with four good bastions and one swivel gun. The woods were cleared all around for a considerable distance, and throughout it was in good condition for defence. Within the fort there were good barracks and a guard room. Munitions consisted of twenty-seven muskets, twenty rounds of powder, and sixty rounds of lead, besides twenty rounds of filled cartridges for each of the twenty-five men.

These are only a few from the number of which he reported but they may be taken as fairly typical. The more important places like Forts Allen, Lebanon, and Henry were well constructed and highly efficient; but the smaller forts were often carelessly built and poorly supplied with food and ammunition. In fact it is almost unbelievable that these hastily constructed posts with only a few rounds of ammunition per man could have defended the frontier as well as they did. Much must have depended upon the Indian's natural fear of anything like an ambuscade or a fortification.

The same criticisms may be applied at a later date to the western forts. Major Denny in 1794 reported the condition of Fort Franklin as follows: "I am not surprised at Polhemus' alarm. The fort is worse than any frontier station you ever seen, & that for the Block House, which is far from being the best, it would be infinitely worse than nothing at all. The pickets might do to inclose a garden, and do look more like a fence than anything else. They are placed in the form of a square without anything to defend the curtain's flanks, & in the bottom of a ditch, along which

five hundred Indians might lay perfectly secure." (1) It was put into somewhat better condition by the commissioners who had been appointed to lay out the town at Presqu' Isle, (2) but its position at so great a distance from the Allegheny River was still a disadvantage. (3)

But in spite of the dilapidated condition in which the forts were often found, and in spite of the insufficient garrisons with which the commanders were often forced to be contented, they were the most important element in frontier defence. They were points of irritation which drove the Indians farther and farther westward; they were places of refuge where the inhabitants in times of danger could find an almost certain security.

Ammunition and Supplies.

The equipment of a soldier was very simple. It was a distinct advantage to be lightly clad, armed, and accoutred. A watch coat, a waist coat, a pair of woollen overalls, a shirt, a pair of shoes and a blanket sufficed for bed and clothing. (4) The gun furnished him was often poor in quality and condition. Benjamin Franklin said of the arms furnished the frontiersmen in 1755: "I wish they were better; but they are well fortified, will bear a good charge, and I should imagine they would do good service with swan or buck shot, if not so good for single ball." (5) The riflemen

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., VI, 705.

(2) *Ibid.*, 728. Andrew Ellicott to Governor Mifflin, June 29, 1794: "On my arrival there, the place appeared to be in such a defenseless situation that, with the concurrence of Captain Denny and the officer commanding at the fort, we remained there some time, and employed the troops in making it more tenable. It may now be considered as defensible, provided the number of men is increased. The Garrison at present consists of twenty-five men, one half of whom are unfit for duty, and it is my opinion that double that number would not be more than sufficient."

(3) *Ibid.*, 795. Report of Andrew Ellicott, December 30, 1794: "The present Fort is erected on French Creek, about one mile from the old one, which was built by the British. I have never yet (tho' frequently made the inquiry) been able to discover the reason why the old works were abandoned and a new position taken, without one visible advantage to justify it, but, on the contrary, attended with many obvious and important disadvantages. The old work commanded the Allegheny River just below the mouth of French Creek, and the present can only command that creek, and when the waters are low, loaded boats cannot be brought within three quarters of a mile of it."

(4) *Col. Rec.*, XIII, 143.

(5) FRANKLIN, *Works*, II, 240.

raised in 1792 refused to take the (1) muskets furnished them, but a compromise was effected by which they were furnished with rifles as their own property, the price of them to be deducted from their pay.

During the years 1755 and 1756 twenty-nine cannon, fourteen swivels, and 4789 small arms, with great quantities of powder, lead, flints, and tomahawks were purchased with the money granted for the king's use, and sent to the several parts of Pennsylvania. (2) Most of these went to the frontiers. At the close of the war 1742 muskets, with about the same number of bayonets, cartridge boxes, and gun worms were returned to the provincial government by persons to whom they had been loaned. (3)

Supplies were almost chronically lacking. Even so important a place as Fort Augusta had no definite source but the soldiers were compelled to scour the country and obtain food where ever it could be found, much to the detriment of the work on the fort and the ranging of the woods. (4) The question of ammunition was still more serious; at times there were only three pounds per man. (5) Clothing was furnished in no more abundance. (6)

According to the testimony of Arthur Lee the supplies which were provided were not always used to advantage. The powder at Fort Pitt in 1784 was found to have spoiled. "The commanding officer alleged that it was the business of the garrison to guard the stores only, and not to keep them from spoiling." (7) Soldiers, too, were obliged to go

(1) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., IV, 711. Major McCully to Colonel Biddle, March 11, 1792: "The Soldiers, being enlisted as Riflemen, refused to take the muskets, and it had liked to have caused some difficulty; however, the officers and myself agreed to purchase a number of rifles, the soldiers agreeing to receive them as their property, and giving power of attorney to stop as much of their pay as would answer for the sum."

(2) *Ibid.*, 1st ser., III, 25.

(3) *Ibid.*, 2nd ser., II, 712.

(4) *Ibid.*, 1st ser., II, 780.

(5) *Ibid.*, III, 352.

(6) *Ibid.*, 2nd ser., VI, 791. Captain Denny to Governor Mifflin, November 1, 1794: "For want of clothing, particularly shoes, there are numbers of men who are now almost useless. The term of enlistment is too long to depend upon them providing for themselves, especially when they can receive their eight months' pay before they have served one. No restraint in this case is a very great injury to the service."

(7) *Olden Time*, II, 340.

without sufficient equipment while plenty was lying in the public stores. (1)

The lack of supplies along the frontier was to a great extent due to the difficulty of transportation. Roads were bad or nonexistent. At the time when supplies were in greatest demand, the convoys were most subject to attack by the Indians. Expeditions, too, were greatly retarded by their baggage trains for which a road must often be carved through the forest. On account of these difficulties the cost of transportation was extremely high. (2) After the construction of roads had greatly lessened the difficulties, a woeful inefficiency still at times retarded shipments. (3)

Military and Scouting Expeditions.

Pennsylvania did not stand wholly upon the defensive but at various times sent out scouting or military expeditions into the enemy's country. The earliest of these with

- (1) *Ibid*, 341. Reprinting Arthur Lee's Journal: "Col Harmar, who commanded the troops that were equipping for the treaty, came in; and upon my asking him if the troops were provided with what was necessary, he said no, not even with blankets. The clothier general, upon being applied to, had informed him that they must be purchased. We told him that there were thousands rotting in the public store, and directed him to go there immediately and furnish his corps, which he did.
"The reason for all this is, that there is a profit in purchasing, and none in issuing out of the public stores."
- (2) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., II, 139. Gevernor to Assembly, January, 1750: "The money voted at your last sessions as a present to the Indians at Ohio has been laid to the best advantage in goods proper to the occasion. But as all the money given for this service was invested in the goods, and no provision made that I know of to pay the charge of their conveyance to Ohio, I must desire you to think of this and provide accordingly.
"The sum demanded for their Transportation is Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds, which appears to me to be very high; but by all the Enquiry I have been able to make, I do not find I can get it done for less by any Persons in whom I can place a confidence."
- (3) *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, I, 476. Colonel George Muter to the Governor, January 31, 1781: "The wagons are ready to start, that are to carry out the necessarys for the forces in the Western Department, and instructions with respect to the delivery of the goods they carry are wanted. I am incapable of even originating instructions, as I know no more of the matter, than that the goods are to be carried to Fort Pitt, but am entirely ignorant of anything further. I am informed that Major Quirk has said he cannot give the necessary instructions. I beg leave to add, that Mr. Rose informs me, the waggoners refuse to move, unless some spirits are furnished them and a satisfactory provision made for their being paid. These are matters I do not know what to do in, therefore have I been induced to mention them to your Excellency."

which we are concerned is that made by Conrad Weiser in 1738. In November, 1747, a delegation of Ohio Indians had visited Philadelphia and requested that an agent should be sent to them for the purpose of holding a council. They were given a promise that Conrad Weiser would be sent early the next spring. He accordingly made the journey with a considerable present from the government, and accompanied by George Croghan who as a trader was well acquainted with the country and its roads. (1) He was instructed to learn the number, situation, disposition, and strength of the various Indian tribes, and whether they were likely to be friends, neutrals, or enemies in the impending struggle with the French. The Indians reported 780 warriors and expressed themselves as very friendly to the English.

During the winter of 1753-1754 John Pattin was sent to the Ohio Country on a somewhat similar mission. He was instructed to learn what the French were doing, their numbers and location, and what forts they had built or intended to build. (2) He was to take account of the western roads, learn the number of the Indians and whether they inclined toward the French or toward the English, obtain the names of those who carried whisky to the Indians, learn what quantity of arms and ammunition had been sent to the Ohio Indians by the Governor of Virginia, and find out whether any measures had been decided upon for frontier defence. The trip was made, the desired information set down in a diary and delivered to the governor in February, 1754. (3)

In 1758, in order to facilitate Forbes' expedition, the government began to lay plans to withdraw the Indians from the French interest. After some search for a suitable messenger to send to them, Christian Frederick Post was chosen. He was a plain honest man who had (4) lived as a missionary among the Indians for seventeen years, and therefore knew their language perfectly. About the middle of July he received orders from the governor to go to the Delaware,

(1) *Col. Rec.*, V, 290-292.

(2) *Col. Rec.*, V, 707.

(3) *Ibid*, 730. Minutes of Council: "The Governor ordered the Secretary to inform the Council that Andrew Montour and John Patten were come from the River Ohio; ——— that the transactions with the Indians were contained in a Journal sent by Mr. Croghan and in a diary taken by Mr. Patten, which he desired might be read and sent to the House."

(4) THOMPSON, *Causes of Alienation*, 129.

Shawanese, and Mingo Indians on the Ohio to persuade them, if possible, to withdraw from the French interest. He proceeded west by way of Fort Augusta and the old Shamokin Trail, was kindly received by the Indians and protected against the French who planned to have him either killed or delivered to them as a prisoner. He was, however, unsuccessful in his mission. (1) In October he was directed to make a second attempt, following Forbes' army to the west. He arrived at Loyalhanna on the seventh of November and from there proceeded to the Allegheny where he was now wholly successful. (2)

To give accounts of the various military expeditions against the French and Indians does not fall within the compass of our task. References have already been made to Washington's and Braddock's expeditions of 1754 and 1755 respectively. In 1756 Colonel Armstrong, commander of the forces west of the Susquehanna River, made a successful expedition to destroy the Indians' base of supplies at Kittanning. Forbes' capture of Fort Duquesne has already been mentioned, as has Colonel Bouquet's relief of Fort Pitt in 1763.

During the Revolution various offensive expeditions were made against the Indians. General McIntosh in the fall of 1778 started from Fort Pitt to destroy the Indian towns about Sandusky, but the season was so far advanced that he was forced to give up the project. (3) Colonel Broadhead, setting out from Fort Pitt on August 11, 1779, with a force of about six hundred men destroyed the Indian villages and corn fields in the Allegheny Valley. (4) At the same time General John Sullivan was engaged in a similar expedition against the Six Nations, proceeding by way of the Susquehanna Valley. He destroyed many Indian towns and laid waste their cornfields, thus embarrassing all future operations against the northern frontier. (5) Further expeditions were contemplated but given up upon the recommendation of General Washington. (6)

Later Years

After the Revolution three new elements entered into the problem of defence. The first of these was the settle-

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- (1) THWAITES, *Early Western Travels*, I, 185-233. Reprinting the journal of the first journey.
 - (2) *Ibid.*, 234-291. Reprinting the journal of the second journey.
 - (3) *Pa. Arch.*, 1st ser., VI, 670.
 - (4) *Olden Time*, II, 309-310.
 - (5) *Ibid.*, 308.
 - (6) *Col. Rec.*, XIII, 380.

ment of Ohio, the second the assumption by the general government of responsibility for frontier defence, and third the settlement of the Pennsylvania lands northwest of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers.

The Revolution had hardly closed before emigrants began to pass down the Ohio River to settle upon the new Congressional lands west of Pennsylvania. Marietta and Cincinnati within a few years were flourishing frontier towns. These settlements tended to push the Indians farther westward and thus free Pennsylvania from the danger of incursions, but at the same time they incensed the former possessors of the soil. Resistance was made during which murders were again committed in western Pennsylvania. It was only by Wayne's victory in 1795 that the western part of the state was wrested from the Indians' hands and entirely secured from Indian depredations.

During the Revolution but to a greater extent after its close the central government began to play an important role in frontier defence. This was inevitable on account of the new frontier stretching across the federal lands as well as on account of the constitutional duties of the federal government. (1) The individual states were henceforth not so much concerned as the Confederation. Thus a second element was interposed to relieve Pennsylvania of the burden of defence. Each state was still required to furnish its quota of men, but operations were directed by the Secretary of War and expenses were met by the general government.

Pennsylvania, however, took the initiative when hostilities began in 1791. The legislature appropriated four thousand pounds to provide for the immediate defence of the frontier, to continue until in the opinion of the governor the measures projected by the United States should give sufficient protection. (2) The governor was authorized to draw orders on the state treasurer for the above mentioned sum and apply the same in such manner as he should judge most proper for carrying the law into effect.

The Secretary of War instructed the lieutenants of the western counties to employ at the expense of the United States as many of the militia by voluntary enlistment or other legal method as in their judgement the protection of their respective counties required. (3) This raised several

(1) *Constitution of the United States*, Art. I, Sec. 2.

(2) *Statutes at Large*, XIV, 95.

(3) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., IV, 646.

legal questions. (1) Could the Secretary of War order out the militia under a Pennsylvania law and direct them to be paid less out of the treasury of the United States than the law under which they served provided? Was not the governor of the state, and not the Secretary of War, the proper person to order out the militia? These questions tended to keep the people from acting with spirit, but they were not pushed to an issue.

The state still had, to some degree at least, the power to accept or reject the federal proposals. In January, 1792, the Secretary of War laid before the governor of Pennsylvania his plan for defensive operations. (2) This was submitted to and approved by the state assembly. In order to aid the measures of the United States the governor was then authorized to engage for six months a number of experienced riflemen from the militia, not exceeding 228, (3) and station them as in his judgement would best protect and defend the western frontier. (4) When the term of the Pennsylvania companies had almost expired, the Secretary of War considered it as politic at least to ask the permission of the governor before allowing the federal officers to recruit among them. (5)

The last problem of frontier defence which presented itself to the state was that of protecting the commissioners who were appointed to lay out the towns of Erie, Franklin, and Waterford. The survey was authorized April 8, 1793. (6) The Indians, who still maintained their claim to the northwestern corner of the state, opposed it. Governor Mifflin, however, purposed to protect the commissioners by means of a draft from the western militia and carry out the establishment in spite of any resistance that might be offered. (7) But in compliance with a request coming from the President of the United States through the Secretary of War and stating that the establishment might complicate the problem of pacifying the western Indians with whom the nation was then at war, he suspended temporarily the execution of the act. (8) All difficulties having at last been removed, commissioners were appointed to make the survey

(1) *Ibid.*, 655.

(2) *Ibid.*, 4th ser., IV, 216.

(3) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., IV, 686.

(4) *Statutes at Large*, XIV, 196-198.

(5) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., IV, 732.

(6) *Statutes at Large*, XIV, 395-396.

(7) *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., VI, 667.

(8) *Ibid.*, 668.

in 1795. (1) The governor on April 18 was empowered to enlist as many men, not exceeding 130, as he thought necessary to protect and assist the commissioners. (2). If a greater force should prove necessary, he was authorized to raise at his discretion a complete company. On account of the alarming reports of Indian hostilities he considered it necessary to raise the additional men; (3) but the survey was made and the land settled without any further Indian opposition.

CONCLUSION

(1) *Statutes at Large*, XV, 337-346.

(2) *Ibid*, 344.

(3) *Pa. Arch.*, 4th ser., IV, 342. Governor Mifflin to Assembly: "Before the Commissioners departed from Pittsburg. The symptoms of savage hostility were so alarming, that it became expedient, as well for their protection, as for the general security of the frontiers, to augment the number of state troops, by the additional company which, in a case of emergency, I was empowered to raise. Orders were accordingly issued for that purpose, but you will perceive, on a perusal of the documents relating to the subject, that every step was taken in concert with the general government, and that no precaution was omitted to prevent an accumulation of useless expense, or a continuance of the enlistments, beyond the period of actual necessity."

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